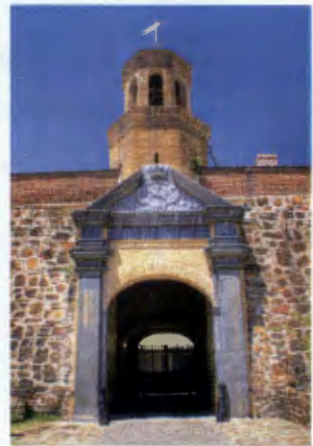


Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage

**An analysis of selected works undertaken by Dirk Visser and
Gabriël Fagan from 1967-1993**



A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of
M Phil (Conservation of the Built Environment)
by
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DECLARATION

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De Tuynhuys (middle) image: www.capetown.travel/blog

The Castle of Good Hope (right) image: http://www.flickr.com/photos/panorama_paul/383377451/

ABSTRACT

This dissertation entitled *The Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage: An analysis of selected works undertaken by Dirk Visser and Gabriël Fagan from 1967-1993* examines the construct of a white settler heritage as promoted and implemented through various restorations and reconstructions of Dutch/VOC buildings. The primary rationale of this study is to critically assess the actions of the main protagonists in the creation of this heritage, that is, the Department of Public Works, the National Monuments Council, Anton Rupert (and his Historic Homes of South Africa), the Simon van der Stel Foundation, the Institute of South African Architects and the provincial institutes. Directly related to this issue is the assessment as to whether the isolationist nature of the South Africa contributed to the plethora of *stylistic* restoration and reconstructions undertaken during the apartheid era.

This study comprises two sections: first, the examination of the intellectual theoretical texts of Foucault, Nora and others pertaining to power, ideology, history and memory, as well as the seminal texts of Jokilehto and Choay which discuss the *stylistic* and *historicist* conservation theories of Viollet-le-Duc; and second, the analysis of selected case studies undertaken by Fagan on behalf of the state (The Castle of Good Hope and De Tuynhuys) and Visser on behalf of Rupert and Historic Homes of South Africa (Drostdy of Graaff-Reinet).

The findings of the study support the notion that the Nationalist state actively pursued the recreation of the Dutch/VOC and white settler heritage in order to support their national identity and political ideology. However, the argument that the *stylistic/historicist* restorations can be attributed to the isolationist nature of South Africa is found to be implausible, owing to the accessibility of numerous international texts published in *Restorica* and the various post-graduate conservation degrees available to members of the profession from 1965.

Keywords: Nationalism and ideology, the state and power, white settler heritage, stylistic restoration, reconstruction, Gabriël Fagan, Dirk Visser.

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ACRONYMS USED IN THE TEXT

ANS	Afrikaanse Studentebond
CUS	Closer Union Society
FAK	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge
HMC	Historical Monuments Commission
IAAS	Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York
ISAA	Institute of South African Architects
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
NHMRA	Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1934
NMA	National Monuments Act of 1969
NMC	National Monuments Council
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act of 1999
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAIA	South African Institute of Architects
SANS	South African National Society
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UCT	University of Cape Town
UP	University of Pretoria
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East Indies Company)

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Afrikaner nationalism

Afrikaner nationalism as defined by van Graan (2003) is rooted in the 'creation of an identity' for a group of people from various European countries, namely Germany, France and the Netherlands. This sense of nationalism was further strengthened by the British occupation of the Cape from 1806, the Jameson Raid in 1895 and the Anglo Boer War 1899-1902.

Anthony Edward Rupert

Anton Rupert was born in Graaff-Reinet in 1916 (Dommissie, 2005:20-22). Rupert obtained his MSc in chemistry in 1939 and was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria. Rupert and Hertzog were co-founders of Industrial Investments (1943), Distillers Corporation (1945) and the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation (Esterhuysen, 1986:14). Rupert played an active role in public life from 1960, was outspoken regarding many political issues and therefore clashed with the Nationalist government on numerous issues ranging from segregation, housing to foreign policy. Rupert "subscribed to a definition of business as 'honourably serving the public as a profit'" (Rupert, quoted in Dommissie, 2005:46, 47). This philosophy resulted in numerous institutions being established to provide a service to the community through the Rembrandt Group. Those linked to heritage are the Historical Homes of South Africa and SA Nature Foundation founded in 1966 and 1968 respectively. His concern for the neglect of South Africa's historical built environment is evident in his conservation achievements in towns such as Graaff-Reinet, Stellenbosch, Swellendam and Paarl. Granted this concern was linked to a capitalist philosophy of profitability, therefore most of his conservation endeavours have been self-sustaining.

Authenticity

Authenticity is defined as follows in terms of the Venice Charter: "Any conservation and restoration activity needs to be based on a thorough knowledge of the heritage resource and the balanced definition of its artistic, historical and cultural significance. Priorities should be based on value judgements that are measured against the culture concerned, and with due awareness of recognised international guidelines and recommendations. The intention in treatments should be to maintain the authenticity of the resource and the truthfulness of the sources of information in order to guarantee the credibility of its history and cultural context" (Jokilehto, 1995:63).

Castle of Good Hope

The Castle of Good Hope was built from 1666 to 1679. The citadel was constructed by the VOC in order to secure the Cape from European attack and seizure, as well as from the local Khoi-San (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

Conservation

Conservation means all the processes of looking after a *place* so as to retain its *cultural significance* (ICOMOS, Australian, Burra Charter, 1998, Article 1.4).

De Tuynhuys

De Tuynhuys was the original *compagniestuinhuys* located within the Company Gardens. It was substantially altered as a guest house in 1682 (Rencken, 1972:7). This building was further altered with the construction of a second floor prior to 1710 (Rencken, 1972:8). The building was then converted by Governor Tulbagh into a single storey H-shaped house with a thatched roof and trilobal gables, as shown in the sketch by Schneider in 1777. The building was altered once more into a double storey structure as per the drawing by Josephus Jones (dated 1790). The house was substantially altered by Lord Somerset during the second British occupation (Rencken, 1972:15). De Tuynhuys had been used as either a residence or office by all the governors of the Cape, whether they were Dutch, Batavian or British. After the restoration and reconstruction by Fagan in 1972, the building served as the residence of the State President.

Dirk Visser – Munnik Visser Black and Fish

Dirk Visser obtained a B.Arch degree from UCT in 1953. Mike Munnik and Visser met at university and, after graduating, both worked abroad in the United Kingdom. On returning to Cape Town they formed Munnik Visser Architects in 1959 and joined the staff of the School of Architecture as assistant studio masters. Visser worked in Zambia for a number of years, assisting Julian Elliot with the construction of the University of Zambia. He then returned to Munnik Visser and led the design team which won the competition for the Paarl Civic Centre in 1968. Visser obtained numerous awards, namely a Gold Medal from the Simon van der Stel Foundation (1983), an award from the Wetenskap en Kuns Foundation and a number of merit awards from the SAIA.

Drostdy (Graaff Reinet)

The Graaff Reinet Drostdy, designed by Louis Michel Thibault, was completed in 1806. The construction of this new Drostdy was due to the “1804 sanction” delivered by Commissioner-General de Mist for the construction of “new Drostdy houses at Graaff-Reinet, Tulbagh and Uitenhage” (Lewcock, 1963:55). The original design for the Graaff-Reinet Drostdy reflects “low windows with plaster swags to relieve the bare wall above them.” The front and side gables “were to have been flattened three-dimensional relief of a semicircle (presumably representing a dome) rising from a stepped drum and fronted by a classical pediment” (Lewcock, 1963:55). The building work was not supervised by Thibault and therefore differs significantly from the original drawings (Minnaar, 1987:147). The “subtle modulation of surfaces” by Thibault was absent from the completed building (figures 56 & 57).

Gabriël Fagan Architects

Gabriël Fagan graduated with a B.Arch degree from the University of Pretoria in 1952. He worked for Saambou from 1952 and then established Gabriël Fagan Architekthe in Cape Town in 1964. Gabriël Fagan and his wife, Gwen, have been working together as a team in the firm since 1969. Gabriël Fagan has received numerous awards, namely a Gold Medal from the National Monuments Council (1973) for the restoration work undertaken in Church Street Tulbagh, a Gold Medal from the South African Academy of Literature and Science (1975), a Gold Medal

from the Simon van der Stel Foundation (1982), a Gold Medal from the South African Institute of Architects (1988), the Order of Meritorious Service: Gold (State President's award), as well as numerous merit awards from the SAIA. Fagan has also been awarded honorary doctorates from the University of the Free State and the University of Stellenbosch.

Gwen Fagan qualified as a medical doctor at UCT in 1948 and left private practice to join Gabriël in his architectural firm as a historical researcher and landscape planner. Gwen obtained a PhD from UCT in 1995: "An introduction to the man-made landscapes at the Cape from the 17th to 19th centuries". Gwen has received a number of awards, namely the Cape Tercentenary Award for historical research and landscape restoration (1987) and a Gold Medal from the Simon van der Stel Foundation (1992).

Heritage

Heritage is that which is inherited. It is paradoxical in its nature due to being representative of the past *in* the present (Shepherd, 2008).

It is, however, simultaneously a cultural product and a political resource which is controlled by those in power, who determine the constructed narratives and therefore the levels of inclusion or exclusion of selected histories.

Historicist

This term is in relation to conservation of the built environment, used to "characterise endeavours which intend to or hope to return a building or townscape to an 'historical' configuration." In other words, an attempt to "reconstruct history or a past 'historical' appearance" (Townsend, 2003:18).

Historic Homes of South Africa

Dr Anthony Rupert's concern for the neglect of South Africa's historical built environment, particularly homes built in the Cape Dutch style, led to the establishment of Historical Homes of South Africa. This company listed in terms of the Companies Act after a public appeal by Rupert in 1965. The "136 founder members included 36 public companies", which included all the "financial mining houses, newspaper groups" and certain "banking institutions" (Dommissie, 2005:158).

Ideology

Political or nationalist ideology is based on a set of particular ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths and symbols of a social or cultural movement or institution.

Lacuna

Lacuna (Latin. *lacuna*, *lacunae*) refers to a gap, missing part, cavity or hole in the overall appearance of the artefact. In terms of art and architecture: "A lacuna in regard to a work of art is an interruption of the figurative pattern" (Hansar, 2004).

National Party (1914-1994)

The establishment of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Association of True Afrikaners) in 1875, was the precursor of the political party (Kotze, 1981:46). This Afrikaner nationalist movement pursued the notion of self-determination with the formal establishment of the National Party in 1914. The main political aim of the Party was to secure a majority in parliament, as this would automatically permit the Nationalists to petition the British government for the “political emancipation” of South Africa (Kotze, 1981:88,89). The National Party first came to power in coalition with the Labour Party in 1924. Full autonomy was only obtained after the 1948 elections when the National Party gained a narrow majority in parliament. Thirteen years later South Africa became a republic in 1961 (Kotze, 1981:90). The Nationalist Party continued to govern South Africa until the first democratic elections in 1994.

Nationalism

Nationalism is based on political ideology that involves a strong identification of a group of individuals with a nation. It is often associated with a belief that one cultural, ethnic or religious group should be permitted to express national identity and dominate, even if they are in the minority (Joireman, 2003:10-12).

Preservation

“Preservation means maintaining the *fabric* of a *place* in its existing state and retarding deterioration” (ICOMOS, Australian, Burra Charter, 1998, Article 1.6).

Reconstruction

“Returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric” (ICOMOS, Australian, Burra Charter, 1998, Article 1.8).

Restoration

“Restoration means returning the existing *fabric* of a *place* to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material” (ICOMOS, Australian, Burra Charter, 1998, Article 1.7).

Stylistic restoration

Stylistic restoration is defined as a “faithful preservation of the original architecture and its presentation to posterity intact”. This faithful restoration allows for the “reconstruction of lost features on the basis of analogy” (Jokilehto, 1999:272). Stylistic restoration in its “extreme form” can “result in works of pure fantasy”(Jokilehto, 1999:344).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nora argues that history is a cultural and social construct created through the actions of groups and institutions (1989:7). Heritage, sited between collective and individual conceptions of history, is for the same reasons also a social, cultural and political construct which, by its very nature, is manipulated by those in power (Shepherd, 2008:117). Therefore, in order to discuss South African heritage, it is necessary to briefly discuss the framework in which the Nationalist government came to power in 1948 (Shepherd, 2008).

The predominant Afrikaner position prior to 1948 was one of anti-imperialism and a proclaimed pursuit of the self-determination of *volk en vaderland* (people/nation and fatherland). It is therefore not surprising that, when the National Party came to power, the new regime eradicated many symbols of British power and imperialism. This is viewed as vindication of the defeat suffered by the Boers at the hands of the British half a century earlier (Prins, 1991:1). Post-1950 the conceptions of heritage in South Africa were progressively dominated by Afrikaner cultural history and ideology. Shepherd discusses the importance of landscape and heritage during this period and the Nationalist notion of “sacred landscapes of Afrikaner political mythology” (Shepherd, 2008:120).

This was preceded by the 1938 *Groot Trek Eeufees* (Great Trek Centenary Festival) which culminated in the laying of the foundation stone for the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria (Thompson, 1985). The Monument ultimately depicted scenes of *volk* heroes and the British as the enemies of the Afrikaner nation.

The National Party victory in 1948 was not overwhelming and therefore their tenuous political position required that the notion of Afrikaner Nationalism be diluted in order to pursue a wider “white settler” membership of the Nationalist Party (Witz, 2003:104). The first major national public cultural event was that of the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival in 1952 which served to promote the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology and provide a rallying point for the white members of the Afrikaans-speaking community. However, it was argued by certain parties that Van

Riebeeck did not represent Afrikaner Nationalism but rather white rule as a whole, and the Festival was promoted as celebrating settler nationalism and the commemoration of three hundred years of western civilisation in South Africa (Rassool & Witz, 1993). It is within the context of enforced segregation and suppression of dissent that the apartheid regime pursued white supremacist rule in South Africa. The declaration of racist ideology through the implementation of apartheid laws, resulted in the country being isolated internationally (Marks & Trapido, 1987).

For followers of contemporary critical conservation theories and the “building as document” ideas of Camillo Boito (1836 to 1914), Alois Riegl (1858 to 1905) and others, the works completed, for example in Church Street Tulbagh, De Tuynhuis, the reconstruction of the lacunae at the Castle of Good Hope and the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet would be classified as “falsifications” (Jokilehto, 1986:336). It has been argued by Townsend, Scurr and Büttgens that the isolationist nature of South Africa, at the time of the restoration projects from the late 1960’s to 1980’s, should be taken into consideration (Townsend, 2003:92; Scurr, 2011:xvi; Büttgens, 2010:5). It is rather the case that these restorations and reconstructions undertaken comply with what Townsend jokingly refers to as the Potchefstroom Charter (1982) which mimics the long-dismissed theoretical position of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814 to 1879).

This study therefore investigates whether this underlying ideological heritage construct of Afrikaner and white nationalist can be substantiated. Did the isolationist position of the Nationalist regime support the purist ‘reconstruction’ of the iconic buildings representing the notion of the Dutch or Afrikaner heritage and therefore “white settler” origins? Or were the stylistic restorations merely as a consequence of the isolationist nature of South Africa at the time?

This episode in South Africa’s architectural, cultural and political history has not been adequately explored in terms of the reasoning behind the stylistic restorations and the perceived lack of “theoretical conservation discourse” (Büttgens, 2010:48).

“The reasons for the prevalence of stylistic restorations and the almost complete lack of theoretical conservation discourse in the twentieth century South Africa have not been researched” (Büttgens, 2010:48).

In order to begin unravelling this question of an isolationist, ‘ideological heritage’ representing white cultural legacy, it is essential to consider the seminal texts of Foucault, Nora et al and the main protagonists during the apartheid era, namely the Department of Public Works, the National Monuments Council, Anton Rupert (Historic Homes of South Africa), the Simon van der Stel Foundation, the Institute of South African Architects and the provincial institutes

Townsend, Büttgens and others state that very little has been written about conservation projects completed in South Africa from the 1960’s to the early 1990’s (Büttgens, 2010:45). There is a widely held view that the approach taken by both Visser and Fagan was based in part on the work of earlier architects Eaton and Kendall. Büttgens argues that this conservation methodology “grew out of a conservation culture in South Africa in the mid-to late-twentieth century” (Büttgens, 2010:4). This study will argue in Chapter 3 that this conservation method was based on the example of Kendall and Eaton and that this South African conservation methodology is similar to the conservation theory and methodology of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc, although there is no explicit connection as none of the protagonists have referred to his texts or to his methods directly.

Büttgens states that the “twenty-five year political isolation” of South Africa from the 1960’s resulted in the local architects being excluded from the “exponential progress in conservation theories and methodologies experienced internationally” (Büttgens, 2010:5). This study will, however, argue in both Chapter 3 and 4 that this was not the case when assessing the activities of the profession, the academic institutions and selected conservation publications. This exploration will assess the accessibility of international post-graduate conservation degrees and diplomas, international conferences and the international accreditation of the South African architectural degrees, as well as the conservation methodology content of the publication, *Restorica*, thereby providing a means by which to analyse the level of isolation of the architectural profession in South Africa.

A number of prominent architects based in Cape Town undertook conservation work on behalf of the state and various corporate or private clients, the most noteworthy of these being Dirk Visser (1930 to 2002), Gabriël Fagan (1925), Revel Fox (1925 to 2004) and John Rennie (1943) who undertook various restorations and reconstructions from 1965 to 1994. This research will, however, focus on the work of Dirk Visser and Gabriël Fagan as leaders and exemplars of the general trend.

The scope of the case study does not permit an exploration and examination of the full range of Visser and Fagans projects, but the analysis will focus on three projects: two projects completed by Fagan for the State, namely De Tuynhuys and the Castle of Good Hope; and the reconstruction of the Drostdy in Graaff Reinet by Visser for Historic Homes of South Africa. The case study discussion will focus on the significance of the projects, the principal role players, their intentions and the values associated with the respective projects.

The organisation of this dissertation is as follows: Chapter 2 briefly sets out the research methodology for the case studies according to the texts of Yin, Van Wynsberghe, Kahn and others. The literature review sets out the intellectual and theoretical themes in Chapter 3. The concepts of state, power, nationalism, history and memory as defined by Nora, Foucault, Hobsbawm et al are used as an intellectual framework within which the case studies are interpreted, critically assessed and discussed in Chapter 4. The case studies in Chapter 4 are primarily concerned with the role the state, private corporations, and the role architects played in constructing a national heritage and therefore national cultural identity. The findings of the case studies are discussed in Chapter 5 and will therefore provide the answers to the issues as stated in this introduction and discussed in Chapter 4. The conclusions will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

Case Study Methodology

This dissertation is a multiple-case study which assumes the stylistic restorations undertaken during the apartheid era to be an issue closely bound together by the familiarity of the protagonists. The case studies focus specifically on actions of the state, the architectural profession and Historic Homes of South Africa acting on behalf of Dr Anton Rupert (Yin, 2008:47,48,50,52). The cases are two state-owned and funded projects, namely the Castle of Good Hope and De Tuynhuys (both significant heritage assets) and one privately owned and funded project, the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet.

The primary objective of this study is to assess the notion of a heritage construct created by the Nationalist government to support their political ideology and the plausibility of the argument that the stylistic restorations undertaken by the key role players can be attributed to the isolationist nature of South Africa. The literature review provides a theoretical framework in which this issue will be analysed and discussed based on the Foucauldian notions of power, the state and how this particular South African Nationalist ideology manipulated memory, history and therefore indoctrinated the members of the nation state. The theoretical texts of Viollet-le-Duc provide an understanding of the stylistic conservation methodology and the particular French nationalist context which promoted stylistic reconstructions. In the context of South Africa it is necessary to assess the architectural profession in terms of the role played by the members in furthering the aims and objectives of the Nationalist state, through the construction of buildings which supported apartheid or the reconstruction of cultural artefacts which, in turn, legitimise the notion of a white settler heritage. The conservation movement, with particular reference to the Western Cape, is discussed in detail in order to provide an insight into the methodology and philosophy of the key role players. The documentary evidence from various sources as discussed below provides insight into the instructions from the state or private client in the case of Rupert to Fagan and Visser and the intentions of the architects in the execution of the projects. The

buildings themselves provide physical documentary evidence of their cultural 'evolution' and the subsequent restoration or reconstruction. All three case studies – De Tuynhuys, the Castle and the Drostdy -- provide evidence of stylistic reconstructions or restorations, or both, which sought to reinstate the 'original' Dutch form of the building(s).

In order to provide a more detailed insight into Fagan, Rupert, Visser and their links to the Afrikaner establishment, a number of 'pen pictures' have been provided in addendum A. These synopses are necessary as they provide information about the key role players in this study.

The case study methodology was selected owing to its ability to accommodate the analysis of multiple information and data sources in the analysis of the phenomena under consideration (Yin, 2008:11). VanWynsberghe and Kahn describe the case study method as "transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic" as it involves the "careful delineation of the phenomena for which evidence is being collected (event, concept, program, process, etc)" (Van Wynsberghe, Kahn, 2007:2, 9).

"Case studies are about particularization, not generalization: generalization happens in the mind of the reader to the extent that it is useful in understanding a new situation" (Watson [2002] quoted in Townsend, 2003:4).

Yin argues that case study research methodology, unlike other qualitative methods such as ethnography, requires that the theoretical framework be defined at the outset of the study, as this theoretical perspective will dictate the research questions, method of data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009:34,35).

"Firstly, any criticism must be rigorous and grounded in theory and not be simply a personal viewpoint. This ensures a degree of dispassionate distance in the viewpoint taken. Secondly, any study contributes to growing the body of knowledge and appreciation of the subject and it would be illogical to expect only a positive viewpoint to be put forth" (Scurr, 2011:xvi).

The case study methodology therefore provides for the "analysis of the intersection (and interaction) between theory and research methods and data", which is vital in the exploration and analysis of this particular case. This process permits the

creation or “instantiation” of theory from a case study (Van Wynsberghe & Kahn, 2007:3).

“The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a *decision* or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (Schramm [1971], quoted from Yin, 2009:17).

Stake defines case study not as a methodology, “but a choice of object to be studied” and second, Perkins states that whilst the case study may be remarkable “there is always another agenda – to learn from the case about some class of things” (Townsend, 2003:262). In these cases the phenomenon of the state’s directives in the construction of a national heritage will be explored. Yin’s *Case study research design and methods* (2009), Badenhorst’s *Dissertation writing; a research journey* (2008), Leedy’s *Practical research* and Townsend’s thesis *Development rights and conservation constraints* (2003) were all utilised in the design of this case study. Henning, van Rensburg and Smith’s *Finding your way in qualitative research* was the primary reference for interview research methods.

Selection of the Cases

The selection of the three case studies relied on a number of criteria – namely that the buildings were first, of cultural significance, second, the restoration and/or reconstruction must have been undertaken either by the apartheid state (1948 to 1994) or by a private individual with the explicit objective of recreating a cultural artefact in keeping with the cultural ideology of the state, and third, the projects must reflect the stylistic restoration principles prevalent in South Africa at the time. The case studies are analysed and discussed in chronological order and will be examined in sufficient detail to enable well-informed conclusions.

Limitations

The scope of this dissertation does not permit sufficient time or resources to explore all the conservation projects undertaken by Fagan and Visser during the apartheid era. Therefore further research will be required in the future in order to provide greater insight into the diversity of projects and clients.

Sources of Data pertaining to the Case Studies

This study relies on archival documents sourced from the National Monuments Council archive held by the South African Heritage Resources Agency; from Gabriël Fagan Architects who were commissioned to restore De Tuynhuys and the Castle of Good Hope by the Department of Public Works; from the University of Cape Town Manuscripts and Archives who hold a small collection of Dirk Visser's papers; and from email correspondence and interviews with key figures conducted in Cape Town. Those who were actively involved in conservation projects or the management of conservation bodies during the apartheid era were identified as interviewees. Unfortunately, owing to the research focusing primarily on work undertaken from 1969 to 1994, many of the key role players are deceased and therefore archival information became vital in reconstructing the projects, context for decisions and methodologies. The professionals interviewed are conservation architects, members of the National Monuments Council, academics and members of Architects Against Apartheid¹.

The conservation architects interviewed were involved with conservation projects during the apartheid era and were therefore able to provide particular insight into projects, their values and the workings of the National Monuments Council:

Gabriël (Gawie) Fagan is an internationally acclaimed architect who has received numerous awards for this conservation work over the past forty-five years (see Glossary and Addendum A). Both Gabriël and Gwen Fagan have a particular interest in Cape Dutch architecture and site the "rarity factor" in the conservation of these artefacts.

Because Dirk Visser is deceased it was necessary to interview his son, David Visser, his niece, Jane Visser (also an architect), and his long-standing assistant,

¹ The AAP was an "informal pressure group" which sought to challenge their colleagues to amend the Architects' Act of 1970 to comply with the Warsaw Declaration. They drafted a *Green Manifesto* which made it "unethical" for the profession to engage in any of the following; design buildings based on racial segregation, design buildings (other than housing) for the so-called "homelands" and any building that would assist in furthering the enforcement of apartheid (prisons, police stations, law courts).

Ivan Flint, in order to gain an insight into his life, career and thinking. Jane Visser graduated from the University of Cape Town and worked with Visser for just over two years. She worked on the drawings for the Cape Agulhas lighthouse restoration and therefore not only has insight into Visser's methodology, but also familial knowledge of Babylonstoren (refer to Addendum A) and the value of this heritage to Visser and his brothers. Visser was the recipient of a number of awards and gold medals from the Simon van der Stel Foundation (1983) (see Glossary and Addendum A).

Ivan Flint joined Munnik Visser Black and Fish in 1978. He therefore has detailed insight into the firm, its origins and history. He worked with Visser on a number of conservation projects and became a partner in 1982. He is a skilled conservation architect who has completed numerous projects in South Africa and abroad in the United Kingdom.

John Rennie is a respected conservation architect who as a young UCT graduate worked for Gabriël Fagan Architects from 1965 to 1970 before joining the firm of Revel Fox. Rennie was one of the first South African architects to study at the University of York under the guidance of Derek Linstrum where he completed a twelve-month post graduate diploma in conservation in September 1974. John Rennie's conservation opinions and values are very much based on his post-graduate studies abroad and his conservation experience in the restoration of buildings of both British and Dutch origin.

Basil Brink is an architect and an academic who completed his Masters at the University of Delft and PhD at the University of Johannesburg. He has written a number of research papers on the profession and the Afrikaner Broederbond.

Ivan Schlapobersky is an architect who completed his Masters at the University of Pennsylvania. He is one of the founding members of Architects Against Apartheid and therefore has particular insight into the profession during that era.

Penny Pistorius is an architect and historian who has worked for the National Monuments Council from 1985.

Both Professors Franco Frescura and Roger Fisher are architects and respected academics. Both have substantial insight into architecture, conservation and South African culture. Professor Frescura has particular expertise in anthropology, politics and provided particular insight into academia and conservation during the apartheid era.

Trevor Thorold is an architect and worked on the restoration and reconstruction of Valkenburg with the assistance of Dirk Visser. Gregg Goddard documented this project whilst an undergraduate student at the University of Cape Town.

The interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours. The interviews were recorded by means of notes taken during the interview and the transcripts emailed back to the interviewees for comment and correction (which are attached in Addendum B). The questions were determined by the interviewees' professions, the roles they had played in conservation over the past decades and their insight into conservation thoughts and methodology. Different questions were posed to each of the interviewees so as to allow for flexibility in discussion and the responses regarding conservation. The discussions were informal: all interviewees spoke freely and provided definitive answers to the questions raised by the author.

The interviewees provided particular insight into their conservation methodology and philosophy. The opinions and views of the individuals about the profession, conservation and the state has added a very valuable dimension to this study. This insight has enabled the identification of additional avenues of research into similar case studies. Owing to the limitations of this research further exploration of the work undertaken by Visser and Fagan must be pursued in the future in order to allow for a complete portrayal of the scope of work completed by both architects. The lack of records maintained by Munnik Visser of Dirk Visser's work will therefore require that his projects be 'reassembled' in terms of documentation pertaining to his clients, contractors, colleagues and the NMC.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter frames the conservation work undertaken by Fagan, Visser and others within the context of a nationalistic ideology of the apartheid era which underpinned a particular cultural identity. In order to unravel the reasoning behind the stylistic historical restorations undertaken during this time it is essential to examine the seminal texts of Foucault, Nora, Hobsbawm and Viollet-le-Duc. This theoretical framework provides a means by which to interrogate the issue outlined in Chapter 1 and therefore define the concepts of state, nationalism, ideology, history, and culture. To contextualise and locate this framework the discourse of architecture is considered, its position in relation to the state, the nature of the profession in South Africa, the dominant cultural ideology supported by the state and other key factors influencing conservation ideology in South Africa.

Power and the State

In his writings Foucault often refers to the notion of state; however, he has rejected any “state theory”. His lectures delivered at the Collège de France in 1978 and 1979 explored the “analytics of government”² and indirectly contributed to the notion of state theory through his genealogy of the modern state. In this context he defines “state” and, therefore, “state power” in terms of evolving incessant transactions, multiple “governmentalities” and perpetual “statizations” (Foucault [1978] in Jessop, 2007:37).

“...the state is nothing more than the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities” (Foucault [1978] quoted from Jessop, 2007:37).

This statement does not assume that power is defined by a state, the law or universal domination as these mechanisms merely define certain forms of institutional power. Foucault defines power as “something that exists with three distinct qualities: its origin, its basic nature, and its manifestations”. Therefore, in

² Government as dynamic group of societal power relations

essence, power requires the analysis of what focuses relations between individuals and groups in so far as certain persons exercise power over others. This is the basic form of power which Foucault refers to as the “heterogeneous microphysics of power” - which implies a constant state of confrontation or struggle with the potential for a “point of reversal”³ (Foucault, 1982:785).

“Power’s condition of possibility and its role as a grid of intelligibility of the social order must not be sought in the primary existence of the central point, in a unique source of sovereignty from which secondary and derived forms might emanate; it is the moving substrate of force relations, which by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable....Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere” (Foucault [1978-1979] quoted from Jessop, 2007:37).

Therefore the study of power should focus initially on where it is exercised over individuals, and thus on the exploration of the practices of subjugation at an elementary level prior to considering the broader attempts of domination.

This basic form of power relations then defines a broader network of interrelationships between discursive fields within society - institutions, groups and bureaucracies, which, in turn, are linked to the state.

“It is certain that, in contemporary societies, the state is not simply one of the forms of specific situations of the exercise of power - even if it is the most important - but that, in a certain way, all other forms of power relation must refer to it. But this is not because they are derived from it; rather, it is because power relations have become more and more under state control [...] Using here the restricted meaning of the word 'government', one could say that power relations have been progressively governmentalized, that is to say, elaborated, rationalized, and centralized in the form of, or under the auspices of, state institutions” (Foucault quoted from Faubion, 2000:345).

This notion of state is followed in part by the definition provided by Nora in *“Rethinking France, Les Lieux de Mémoire Volume 1 – the State”*, where he argues

³ Power relationship is articulated based on the position that the person over whom power is being exerted, is recognised as a person who acts and reacts

that the word “state”, in terms of meaning, alternates between the notion of the “machinery of government and administration” and the “nation” itself (Nora,1996:xxxv).

Nationalism, Memory and Ideology

Within the South African context, when considering the concept of “nation-state”, particularly during the apartheid era, the issues of nationalism and ideology must be discussed. Nationalism is inextricably sustained by ideology.

Hobsbawm describes the underlying meanings of “nation”, “nation-state” and “nationalism” as follows:

He first defines “nation” as belonging entirely to a particular historical era, as a “social entity” linked to “a certain kind of modern territorial state”. The term ‘nationalism’ is defined in terms of Gellner’s (1983:1) political definition, namely, that the meaning is derived from “primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit must be congruent”. The nation and nation-state can only be conceived through nationalism. However, when considering nationalism and the concept of nation-state, myth, ideology, invention and “social engineering” must be considered. This myth and ideology are constructed in terms of an invented history (Hobsbawm, 1990:9-10).

“Finally, I cannot but add that no serious historian of nations and nationalism can be a committed political nationalist [.....] Nationalism requires too much belief in what is patently not so. As Renan said: ‘Getting its history wrong is part of being a nation’” (Renan [1882] quoted from Hobsbawm, 1990:12).

Nationalism is categorised in more detail by Joireman, who argues that it is in essence “politicized ethnicity”. In order to quantify this political construct, ethnicity is described in terms of a set of “constructed memories, culture” which therefore result in “a sense of solidarity” – in essence “the politics of belonging”. Hence, this is the reason why self-determination will always be the main political agenda of a nationalist group. But this does not necessarily mean that all “nationalisms” seek a nation-state; many merely pursue a level of local autonomy which may be in conflict with their established states (Joireman, 2003:12).

Joireman's (2003:13) concept of "the politics of belonging" is supported in Anderson's definition of nation – as an "imagined political community" – imagined as "inherently limited and sovereign". He emphasises the imagined nature of this community by stating that "even the smallest nation will never know most of the fellow members" who hold the same vision of their "joint communion" (Anderson,1991:6).

Kotze reiterates the notion of nationalism being an ideology, supported by religion, history, culture, language, education, political and economic power. His views regarding South African nationalism are, however, of particular interest as he traces the origins and development of the Afrikaner nationalist movement from the late nineteenth century. He first discusses the establishment of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Association of True Afrikaners) that was established in 1875, with the principle objectives being the recognition of Afrikaans as a written and official language, the "cultivation of a political awareness" amongst Afrikaners that would result in the establishment of an official political party, and the ultimate object being that of an independent republic and economic prosperity. Their motto – "to stand for our language, our people and our country" – encapsulates all of the above in terms of language, political power and self-determination. The association established the newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, as a means of disseminating the objectives and ideologies of this nationalist movement, and the argument supporting the Transvaal obtaining political independence was strongly promoted via this publication between 1877 and 1881 (Kotze, 1981:46). The Afrikanerbond was established in 1879 and was the initial step in the mobilisation of the larger Afrikaner nationalist movement. Later the establishment of the Suid-Afrikaanse Taalbond (South African Language League) in 1890 linked the language and nationalism campaigns with the sole aim being the promotion of the national language and the national imperatives.

This is emphasised in the *Die Republiek van Duisend Jaar* (The Millennial Republic) by the Afrikaans poet, G.A Watermeyer.

“.....the burden of the verse is the idea that a nation's heartbeat is in subtle harmony with its language; that all that man is and may become is clearly moulded in the words of his language” (Watermeyer [1957] quoted from Kotze, 1981:47).

All of the above culminated in the South African War (Second Boer War) from 1899 to 1902. The Afrikaner nationalist movement continued to pursue the notion of self-determination with the establishment of the National Party in 1914. The main political aim of the party was to secure a majority in parliament, as this would automatically permit the nationalists to petition the British government for the “political emancipation” of South Africa. This objective was consistently pursued by D.F. Malan and General J.B.M. Hertzog and formed the official policy of the party (Kotze, 1981:88, 89).

“Dr Malan’s dictum – bring together those who belong together by inner conviction – was aimed at gaining national unity among the Afrikaners, who formed the majority of the white population, in order that they and other whites who subscribed to the principles of the National Party might gain victory at the polls” (Kotze, 1981:89).

The British government, once faced with the strength of the nationalist movement, set about negotiating the constitutional independence of the South African Union. This process was partially completed in 1931 with the Statute of Westminster providing legislative independence to the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. Full autonomy was only obtained after the 1948 elections. South Africa became a republic in 1961, thirteen years after the National Party had gained a narrow majority in parliament (Kotze, 1981:90).

The Nationalists, once in power, set about establishing a national identity for South Africa. The apartheid state of the National Party was a “key curator in the re-defining” of the national history and heritage. There is little doubt that the “invocation” of numerous cultural symbols that affirmed the Afrikaner identity contributed to emergence of the Nationalist Party as a political force (Witz, 2003:11-13).

We cannot, however, discuss the cultural and historical constructs of the Nationalist government without clearly defining the concepts of memory and history in terms of the state. Nora argues that memory is constantly changing, vulnerable to the “dialectic of remembering and forgetting”, susceptible to “manipulation and appropriation”; and history as a discourse - a critical representation of the past - is always incomplete and “suspicious” of memory (Nora, 1989:8).

There is a constant state of tension between the two, memory – “affective”, open to “censorship and projection” – and history, an “intellectual production”, which demands critical analysis (Nora, 1989:9). It is the absence of the sense of “spontaneous memory” and this constant state of tension which ensures the existence of *lieux de mémoire*.

“...if history did not besiege memory, deforming and transforming it, penetrating and petrifying it, there would be no *lieux de memoire*. Indeed, it is this very push and pull that produces *lieux de memoire* -moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded” (Nora,1989:12).

He argues further that the role of the state as unifier, director and authorised enforcer in terms of the crystallisation of awareness as community and nation is critical in terms of a constructed history derived from selected memories. Such memories are orchestrated in such a way as to support the ideological and mythological constructs of the state. Hence the fact that prior to the mid-twentieth century, French history was written as the “history of the state” as various forms of “struggles for power” and of men of political stature. A political history, which was orchestrated by the Third Republic from 1880 and disseminated via school and university structures, was to create a common national identity and “consciousness”. This represents a clear link between nation-state and the official history as presented by the structures of power (Nora, 2001:xxxv).

“During this period, history as an ancient academic discipline experienced its own scientific, national, civic, and ideological affirmations” (Nora, 2001:xxxvi). “Scientific affirmation” was derived from the archival research undertaken in the creation of the history and “national affirmation” owing to the fact that the republican

state was seen as the “natural heir” to the *ancien régime* and thus the revolution. The notion of “civic affirmation” was, however, derived from the concept of a “pedagogical hegemony of history” delivered in primary and secondary education in order to ensure “enlightened” servants and citizens of the state. The most important aspect, however, was the ideological affirmation which evolved from this “critical methodological and positivist history” which was constructed partly of truth and mythology. The prime objective of this was to produce a historical construct that would indoctrinate and “initiate people into the culture” of the state (Nora, 2001:xxxvii).

This “indoctrination” by the South African state was enabled, in part, through various cultural and historical festivals, which sought to promote the contribution of the white race to the culture and environment of Africa (Franco Frescura interview, 30 September 2012). The first such festival was the celebration of the Great Trek, which celebrated Afrikaner nationalism in terms of the pioneering forefathers who had sought self-determination. The affirmation of this identity through the symbolic reconstruction of the “monumental journey of nationhood” – namely the Great Trek Centenary Festival of 1938 and the inauguration of the Voortrekker monument in 1949 – symbolised the great Afrikaner trek away from the oppression of “British colonial officialdom” into the hinterland. The Nationalist government, after coming to power in 1948, commissioned numerous memorials dedicated to significant Afrikaner nationalist figures and events (Witz, 2003:11).

“Across the country, streets, towns with British imperial associations were renamed so they could be identified with events and people associated with a seemingly pre-ordained history of the Afrikaner nation” (Witz, 2003:12).

The commemorative public holidays were filled with great exhibitions of “pageantry” with high ranking officials in attendance, and of course the narrative of the festival celebrated the “virtues of the Afrikaner nation”. The imagined community therefore actively constructed a heritage to support the political ideological objectives (Witz, 2003:13).

Shepherd's description of the impact of Afrikaner nationalism on archaeology illustrates this intense focus of the state on the creation and promotion of Afrikaner and white settler heritage. He argues that all aspects of cultural heritage were usurped by a parochial view of Afrikaner mythology and culture.

"Henceforth, the historical imagination of the South African state would creak with the ox-wagons of the Afrikaner pioneers, thunder with the massed rifles of Blood River and echo with the cries of the fallen *impi*. The settler pan-Africanism and anglophilia of the emergent discipline of archaeology were replaced by the parochialism of Afrikaner nationalism; the strange occluded twilight of prehistory – part fantasy, part brute, material artefact – was eclipsed by the narratives of Afrikaner sacred history" (Shepherd, 2003 :833).

When considering Hobsbawm and Nora's comments regarding a constructed partly mythological history supporting the national imperative of statehood, the validity of the facts presented must be interrogated. It is evident that the concepts of nationalism, memory-history and ideology are intertwined in the creation of the official doctrine of the nation-state.

Cultural Heritage, Cape Dutch Architecture and the VOC

A pivotal part of this memory and history of the Afrikaner nationalist state is the cultural history, which includes language and material culture. Both have been supported from the inception of the Afrikaner nationalist movement by various "extra-parliamentary agents" – namely the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Fellowship of True Afrikaners) and the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (Afrikaner Brotherhood) which formed the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations –FAK). Kriel argues that it is through these organisations and the state "institutional infrastructure" such as universities, councils, archives, galleries and museums that Afrikaner 'culture' and therefore Afrikaner power is preserved (Kriel, 2010:409-411).

"Heritage weighs down on the side of its own reification. It places notions of culture and identity beyond critique, associating them with the sacred, the ineffable, the given" (Shepherd, 2008:125).

Many of the material cultural artefacts which form part of the “distinctive” Afrikaner and white settler heritage are the Cape Dutch buildings of the Western Cape and Karoo. Pearce describes this architectural style as a derivative of the gabled Dutch architectural style of the seventeenth century, adapted to suit the local climatic conditions and materials available in the Cape (Pearce, 1968:7). This classification is somewhat simplified and does not address the complex social origins of Cape Dutch architecture and the inherent symbolic, cultural meanings which are to be found in their creation.

In order to understand the patterns of the *opstallen* (complex of buildings) and the environments constructed by the ‘free burghers’, the circumstances of the Cape under the governance of the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – United East India Company) must be examined briefly:

The settlement at the Cape was founded and governed by the VOC from 1652 until 1795. The majority of the VOC settlers were poverty-stricken peasants from Holland, Belgium and Germany.

“There can be no doubt that most of the seventeenth-century Cape settlers came from the lower strata of European society [.....] by far the majority of the rank and file VOC employees were thus poverty-stricken, almost penniless peasants” (Brink, 2008:23).

Dutch society was very clearly stratified in terms of the poor: labourers and peasants were defined as “vile and inferior people” and those who were “distinguished” and therefore “people of quality” were fit to administer and govern. Associated with this social standing was the ownership of land.

“No source of prestige could compare with the possession of land: even the mighty Dutch townsmen tended increasingly to acquire country estates when they reached the peak of success” (Pennington [1970] quoted from Brink, 2008:24).

From 1657 onwards the VOC started introducing the “free enterprise farming” at the Cape. Select employees of “good repute” were granted land and issued with a *vrijbrieven* releasing them from VOC service. They were known as “free burghers”: however, they were not free from the controls and restrictions of the Company.

They were therefore not 'free' in the true sense of the word - they were still expected to behave as "obedient servants" (Brink, 2008:28,39).

"The free burghers were not absolved from the Oath they were made to take on enlisting with the Company, and by which they were made to swear total allegiance not to God, nor the fatherland [.....] but to the VOC" (Brink, 2008:35).

The free burgher colony slowly developed and the accumulation of wealth generated by second generation resulted in the stratification of the farming society. In terms of the European "worldview" this "substantial landownership" and prosperity was only associated with "high social status". This was inverted at the Cape through the free burgher system of the VOC, where persons were classified as peasants and therefore "low status" people owned land and prospered.

"A Dutch country estate has been defined as a 'unit consisting of a house, a garden and in many instances lands belonging thereto'"

(De Jong [1990] quoted from Brink, 2008:32).

Despite the increasing free burgher community, the company continued to enforce the "strict hierarchical" structures of the Company.

"It is significant that these food producers were constantly reminded of their dependence on the Company for their very existence" (Brink, 2008:39).

The first buildings constructed by the free burghers were typical rectangular long houses which are similar to those found in northern Europe. These simple structures evolved into "enlarged house plans" as the families grew and became more prosperous. The long house form evolved into L-shaped, T-shaped and H-shaped plans with the introduction of the central '*voorhuis*' (front house), the large, ornate gable over the entrance and the relocation of the kitchen to the rear of the house. The high, thatched roofs with the large centralised gables "suggests display", in other words, a spectacle of wealth and culture (Brink, 2008:57,112).

This form of free burgher architectural style had become so prevalent by 1755 that it was adopted by the Company in the construction of their dwellings. Yaeger argues that the discourse of resistance had thus been drawn into the "dialogue of dwelling" by both parties (Yaeger quoted from Brink, 2008:163).

This emphasis on architecture as a "material cultural representation" forms part of a symbolic narrative about the burghers and their identity.

“...the permanence of the farm complexes, especially the newly gabled thick-walled *opstallen* which began to dominate the rural landscape and to present the VOC with an empirical reality that was not going to go away” (Brink, 2008:106).

It is for this reason that the buildings constructed by the free burghers became very important as symbols of their wealth, elevated social standing and success. The evolution of this architecture therefore symbolises a struggle by the burgher community against the VOC oppression.

“Silenced as they were in terms of ordinary language, I argue that a new form of architecture offered the burghers a way of expressing their discontent with their subjection through a silent language of symbols” (Hall [1988] quoted from Brink, 2008:109).

This form of architecture had become a “craze” by 1755 and the buildings “elements in the discourse of place.” It is therefore not surprising, considering the significant symbolism associated with this settler architecture (1662 to 1806), that it became central to an ideological campaign after the unification of South Africa in 1910 and promoted as “Cape Dutch” in an effort to promote a common cultural identity for both the English and Afrikaner communities. This revivalist architecture (1900 to 1948) was used as a form of cultural propaganda by the unionists and will be discussed in greater detail below.

Cape Dutch: Trope of South African Architecture and the Restoration undertaken 1960 – 1990

The case of the revival Cape Dutch style, created by architects and politicians and its attempted manipulation as an aesthetic symbolising a “unified” colonial nation in the early twentieth century, is relevant when considering the physical manifestation of state, ideology and culture. The trope of South African architecture classified as “Cape Dutch” should not be confused with *volk* architecture, which will be discussed in more detail later.

The old VOC period buildings and that architecture formed the basis of a revivalist movement instigated by Cecil John Rhodes and Herbert Baker in the early twentieth century. This was viewed as an attempt by English-speaking South Africans to

create a new “cultural identity” for the new unified state under the banner of Imperial British patriotism. Prior to the Anglo-Boer War, South Africa comprised a number of disparate parts, namely the two Boer Republics of the Free State and the Transvaal, surrounded by the British colony comprising the Cape and Natal. This concept of Union nationalism supported by Cape and English politicians was pursued through various organisations, namely the South African National Union Society and the Closer Union Society, in an attempt to strengthen the British Empire.

“Cape Dutch architecture, or rather Cape Dutch homesteads, were icons of this ‘common’ European culture” (Coetzer, 2007:151).

This is perhaps rather ironic as the English had taken control of the established colony at the Cape early in the nineteenth century and therefore had no claim to the Dutch architectural heritage. This endeavour to construct a common heritage was therefore based on the pretext that the 150 years of Dutch and VOC rule prior to the establishment of the British Colonial settlement formed the basis for a “common European heritage” to which both English and Afrikaans South Africans could relate (Coetzer, 2007:151).

The patriotic efforts in 1908 of the Closer Union Society were linked in part to the conservation endeavours of the South African National Society and the Cape Institute of Architects (Coetzer, 2007:157).

“It was, however, the Closer Union Society that holds the somewhat dubious distinction of conflating the Cape Dutch homestead within the English/Afrikaner identity” (Coetzer, 2007:153).

The efforts of the Closer Union Society and other such organisations must, however, be viewed in the broader context of the Afrikaner nationalist movement which was rapidly gaining momentum, assisted by pageants such as the Great Trek Centenary celebrations in 1938 and the apartheid Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival in 1952 (Merrington, 2002:61).

The work of the unionists such as Lady Florence Phillips and Dorothea Fairbridge must also be seen in the context of the conservation movement which they initiated in order to ensure the protection of a national heritage. Fairbridge, Sir Henry de Villiers, Francis Masey and others founded the National Society for the Preservation

of Objects of Natural Beauty and Historic Interest in 1905 for the conservation of historic Cape architecture, "ethnological remains" and the Cape flora. This initiative was based on the principles of the English National Trust which had been created in 1895 (Merrington, 1995: 653). The South African National Society's aims and objectives of 1905 clearly state that the organisation was not merely focused on conservation and preservation efforts. It also operated as an organisation disseminating propaganda regarding the common "white national heritage" (Coetzer, 2007:157).

"To endeavour to inculcate respect and affection for the natural beauties of the country, to preserve, as far as possible, from destruction, all ancient monuments and specimens of the old Colonial architecture still remaining in South Africa [.....] to make known by means of lectures, and printed matter circulated throughout the country, the object of the Society, and to endeavour to promote in legitimate manner reverence for the natural beauties of the country, and conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old colonial life" (SANS Annual Report [1922] Coetzer, 2007:157).

The broadcasting of propaganda related to this constructed heritage is discussed at length by Coetzer. He describes the restoration of Groot Constantia (1926), Welgemeend (1910) and Rhodes's cottage (1900) at Muizenburg as "wilful and spurious restorations" (Coetzer, 2007:162). The restoration of Welgemeend resulted in a gable being inserted which it had never had in order to "commemorate the great man", the owner Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1845 to 1909) who was a Cape parliamentarian. The house had been and is flat-roofed and the gable was therefore subsequently removed during the restoration undertaken by Louw and Louw at the behest of the Cape Provincial Administration in 1951 (Fransen, 2004:70). Another case of this kind of restoration was that of Rhodes's Muizenburg cottage which had the original corrugated iron roof removed and thatch installed in 1900 – which was interpreted as being more in keeping for the residence of a great man (Coetzer, 2007:162).

The South African Nationalist Society and Historical Monuments Council ultimately agreed that Groot Constantia should be restored to "its best", in other words "its ideal self". The opening ceremony was a major event in 1927, confirming that the

“ideological restoration” was indeed a success. No mention was made of the controversy surrounding the gabled building belonging to Van der Stel (Coetzer, 2007:161). Coetzer explains how Kendall dispelled the myth that Van der Stel had designed and built the current grand homestead through archaeological explorations of the fire-damaged house which exposed the fact that the Van der Stel homestead had been a simple structure. These facts dismissed the notion that the great man who was the “father of the nation” had resided in a “grand house” which formed the prototype for many that followed, but this was glossed over.

“The conflation of ‘great man’ and ‘grand building’[which?] had been assumed and promoted since the beginning of the discourse on Cape Dutch architecture had been exposed for the wilful propaganda it was” (Coetzer, 2007:160).

Another example of this constructed heritage was the design and addition of two gables to Newlands House by the artist Robert ‘Gwelo’ Goodman.

This was indeed a contrived intervention in a so-called attempt in the 1920’s to return the house to its hypothetical Cape Dutch origins (Coetzer, 2007:163). Newlands House (the Foreign Minister’s residence) subsequently burnt down in 1981 but was completely reconstructed to an earlier form from archival drawings and photographs by Dirk Visser in 1985 (Ivan Flint interview, 5 October 2012).

The “Cape Dutch Revival” was promoted by Herbert Baker in publications such as *The State* which was the propaganda organ of the Closer Union Society (Merrington, 2006:689, Coetzer, 2007:163). Baker’s essay in the 1910 edition of *The State*, “recommends the Old Cape Dutch style of building as offering an appropriate sense of simple Palladian elegance and clean white washed surfaces, suited to the climate”. He adapted this style and constructed many palatial homes in this so-called Cape Dutch Revival style for many wealthy clients in the Cape and the Transvaal, where he relocated his offices to in 1902. This style became synonymous with the wealthy landowners and businessmen known as the “Randlords”. These grand buildings, built in the “elite vernacular” style, created the notion of “gentrification” in the colony. The most prominent example is the

reconstruction of Groote Schuur for Cecil John Rhodes from 1896 (Coetzer, 2007:163).

“Perhaps Baker’s eclectic Cape Dutch style, a child of its time undoubtedly, was an appropriation that sought, by its academic ‘correctness’ (going back to Dutch sources) and ‘un-Cape’ plan forms, to appeal to English colonialists by making allusions to other than ‘Afrikaner’ tradition, thus making the architecture of the Dutch the architecture of the Union” (VanGraan, 2008:13).

The Cape Dutch Revival style was very popular and adopted by many architects from 1910 to the 1940’s; examples can be found in grand villas, suburban “bungalows”, prominent public buildings, schools and government residences throughout the country (Coetzer: 2007:168, Merrington, 2006:689). The government residences in Pretoria include the High Commissioner’s Residence (now the Presidency) designed by Baker in 1906, the Prime Minister’s Residence (now known as Mahlamba Ndlopfu) designed by Moerdyk and completed in 1940 and the Residence of the Transvaal Administrator (now Oliver Tambo House and the residence of the Deputy President) designed by Messrs Dey and Reese Pool and completed in 1947.

“....after the erection of Baker’s seminal work, the Union Buildings (1910-1912), Baker’s star was high in the architectural firmament. He had been influential in recommending appointments of architects into the Department of Public Works, and these young architects in turn came under the sway of Baker. Cape Dutch, one could say became the official style of public works” (Fisher, 2006:126).

Simultaneously, various Cape Dutch homesteads were purchased by British businessmen, many of them Randlords, for example, Vergelegen purchased by Samuel Kerr (an Irishman who had made his fortune in the diamond fields) in 1900 and later in 1917 by Sir Lionel Phillips (a mining magnate, politician and chairman of the Chamber of Mines); J.W Jagger, businessman and leader of Unionist Party, purchased Lourensford in 1916 and Elizabeth Katherina English (the wife of a mining pioneer) purchased Schoongezicht in 1914 and renamed it Lanzerac (Merrington,2002:120).

The most curious example was the project constructed in Tongaat, Kwazulu Natal, where Robert 'Gwelo' Goodman was invited by the Saunders family (who owned Tongaat Sugar) in 1936 to redesign *Amansimnyama* (Zulu, 'black water') a new home and to design a "model native township" in the Cape Dutch Revival style on the Tongaat Estate (Merrington, 2006:693).

Stylistic representations of this "South African identity" through state projects were not restricted to South Africa. The white-washed gable and other Cape Dutch features were utilised by the government for a number of projects abroad, the most prominent being the South African Pavilion (figure 1 and 2) constructed at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley in 1924, with the entrance constructed to represent an "exact replication of the front gable of Groot Constantia" (Coetzer, 2007:169).

".....the design suggests a direct intent to represent South Africa to the rest of the Empire and the world as having arisen from a 'grand history with the literal replication of its 'grandest' and 'oldest' building. In essence, Groot Constantia was represented as the archetypal South African building, which, in turn, became emblematic of South Africa's part of the British Empire" (Coetzer, 2007:169).

It is interesting therefore to return now to the Afrikaner nationalist movement which in essence was running parallel to this orchestrated imperialist heritage construct.

The Afrikaner nationalist movement was supported by various publications such as *Die Patriot*, *Die Brandwag*, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, *Die Boerevrou*, and *Die Huisgenoot* to mention a few, which not only addressed political issues but also articles pertaining to everyday life. The publications denounced imperialism and promoted Afrikaner identity (Van Graan, 2003:8). A number of the articles about architecture were written between 1920 and 1925 by Gerard Moerdijk, an acclaimed architect, and Jacob Pierneef, a prominent artist. Fisher and Le Roux provide particular insight into the argument surrounding the architectural identity shared by the Afrikaner nationalists, through the reproduction of Pierneef's articles dated April 1920. One essay, *Ons boerehuise in Transvaal en hulle karakter* (Our Farm-houses in the Transvaal and their character), rejects the notion of a common

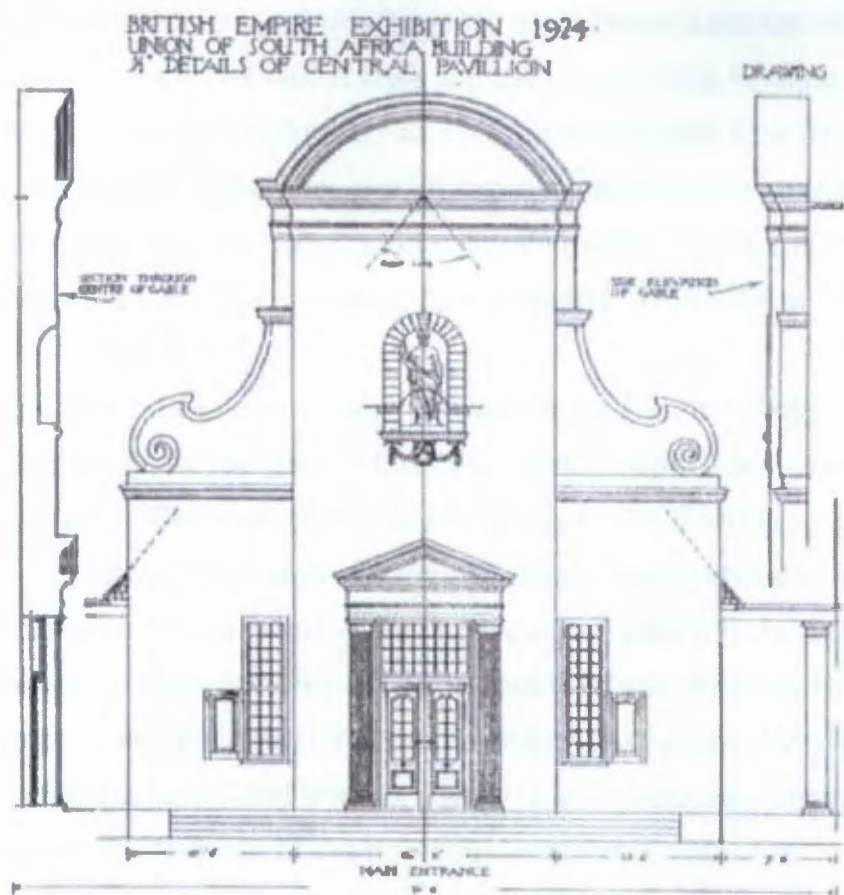


Figure 1: South African Pavilion, Entrance Gable, source: *Building*, December 1924.



Figure 2: South African Pavilion 1924 – commemorative postcard (source: ebay, 2012).

national Cape Dutch style and proclaims the need to define an authentic *Afrikaanse bouwstijl* (Afrikaans building style) (Pierneef [1920] in Fisher, LeRoux, 1989:5 & 6). Pierneef argues that the Cape Dutch style is a derivative of the building styles of the first settlers and *bouwmeesters* (master builders) from Holland, France and Germany and he argues further that 'the art expression of a nation must display the "volk character" which, in turn, defines the cultural identity. He is emphatic in his proclamation that the Cape Dutch style is "un-afrikaans"⁴ (Pierneef in Fisher, LeRoux, 1989:5 & 6).

"The Cape Dutch style is not ours, no, we look for a pure Afrikaans (style), that will carry the stamp of the *volk* spirit"⁵ (VanGraan, 2003:8).

The articles written by Pierneef, Moerdyk and others in *Die Boerevrou*, refer to the *afrikaanse woning* (Afrikaans dwelling) and *afrikaanse nasie* (Afrikaner nation), with numerous designs and discussions regarding typology, planning, materials and climate. Moerdyk, in his article *Praatjies oor bouery* (chats about building) dated June 1925, emphasises the notion that the keystone of a healthy Afrikaner nation is constructed within the family and therefore within the *Afrikaanse woning*.

"The home is the fountain of the righteous, and family life is the cornerstone on which a healthy and abiding State is built. We can therefore be certain that, as the Afrikaanse dwelling decays, so shall one witness the decline of the Afrikaanse nation"⁶ (Moerdyk [1925] in Fisher, LeRoux, 1989:35, translated by researcher).

He discusses the notion of the South African house further in his article titled '*n Afrikaanse woning* dated April 1923. Moerdyk dismisses the influences of foreign architectural styles and the need for an authentic style which addresses the climate, materials and culture of South Africa. He affirms the need to abandon pre-determined ideas, styles and prejudices.

"In order to build a South African house, one must abandon all pre-conceived notions and prejudices. Our ideas have mainly been derived from houses which are designed for another climate, which were imported

⁴ „Die Kaaps-Hollandse bouwstijl is beslis on-Afrikaans“

⁵ "En tog is die Kaapse Hollandse stijl nie onse nie, nee ons moet naar suiwer Afrikaanse, wat die nasionale stempel dra van ons volksiel"

⁶ "Die tuiste is die fontein van alle deg, en die famielewe is die hoeksteen waarop n gesonde en blywende staat gebou word. Ons kan daarvan verseker wees, dat as die Afrikaanse woning verval, ook die Afrikaanse nasie sal verval"

unaltered, with here and there an alteration or veranda which is of no use. Our climate is completely different to that found in Europe”⁷(Moerdyk in Fisher, Le Roux, 1989:21, translated by researcher).

Pierneef in his article *Ons Boerehuise in Transvaal* (Our Boere houses in the Transvaal) emphasises the awakening of the Afrikaans literature, fine art and sculpture, but laments the lack of an architectural style. This search for an Afrikaans architectural style was pursued by the likes of Gerard Moerdyk and Wynand Louw based in Paarl. Wynand Louw and his brother, Hendrik Louw, were responsible for numerous modernist buildings in Cape Town and Stellenbosch such as those constructed for SANLAM, the South Africa Mutual (Old Mutual), Koöperatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging (KWV) and the Dutch Reformed Church in Paarl (Roger Fisher, interview, 22 September 2012). The style that was chosen to represent the Afrikaner nation was international modernist. This style was completely removed from the “imperialist Romantic Classicism” employed by the likes of Herbert Baker, which reflected the past and not the future.

The Afrikaner nationalist architects in the 1930’s therefore made a conscious decision to pursue an architectural style that was progressive, revolutionary and reflective of the future, not the past (VanGraan, 2003:9, Fisher et al, 2003:68).

“In the end, Baker’s Cape Dutch style became an architecture of division and not mediation, an architecture of appropriation and not appropriateness. In creating a Dutch connection, he lost the South African connection” (Van Graan, 2008:14).

This Afrikaner position regarding Cape Dutch architecture did not, however, persist once the National Party came to power in 1948. The apartheid state of the National Party proceeded to promote and preserve white cultural heritage, the VOC and Cape Dutch architecture being some of the symbols of this nationalist ‘white heritage construct’. (Kriel, 2010:409-411, Witz, 2003:11-13, Leibman, 2012:30).

“Cape Dutch is an important historical trope as it has come to signify not only the period of Dutch rule at the Cape (1652-1795), but was later (under

⁷ “Om tot die bou van n Suid-Afrikaanse huis te kom, moet ons eers wegkom van ons vooroordeel daaromtrent. Ons gedagtes het ons meestal gekry van huise wat ander klimaat ontwerp is, en wat so maar so heel-huids hier ingevoer is, met hier en daar n wysigting of n nuttelose veranda. Ons klimaat hier is heeltemal anders as in Europa”

apartheid) considered the most authentic form of South African architectural heritage. In this way recovery of Cape Dutch architecture became synonymous with conservation practice as well as nationalist Afrikaner history" (Murray et al, 2007:3).

This link between a politics and a particular aesthetic provides insight into the role that architects play in promoting, facilitating and concretising a chosen ideology or discourse. Porphyrious argues that "architecture is a discursive practice which owes its coherency and respectability to a system of social mythification". By the term "social mythification" he means that architecture is a discipline which adopts and concretises selected meanings which, in turn, represent the "state of the world in the interests of hegemonical power". Therefore architecture as ideology through this process of social mythification and the production of an aesthetic, either "supports or subverts hegemonical power". He defines power as being the "capacity of a social group to realise its specific objective interests", and hegemony as the process required in "realising of such interests" (Porphyrious [1982] quoted from Ockman,1985:16). The physical manifestations of this national ideology are created in part through the construction of monuments, iconic buildings and the identification of certain buildings or sites which are deemed to be nationally significant. Frescura argues that such "symbols are open to interpretation and liable to manipulation" in order to justify particular "fictitious political claims".

"In cases where a small elite controls political power it also controls the writings and the re-writing, of history. At the time when South Africa's white minority found its legitimacy being challenged from a variety of sources, it is natural that it should have sought to reinforce its precarious claim to tenure by elevating examples of its material culture to the status of 'monuments'" (Frescura,1991:2,6).

This argument and that of Porphyrious therefore compel us to examine the discourse of architecture and its relation to the state in terms of Foucauldian principles of discourse and then ideology.

The State and the Profession

Considering architecture as a discourse, it is necessary to turn to the texts of Foucault in which he discusses the nature of discourse with particular reference to the medical profession and psychopathology. The distinctive analysis presented by Foucault in *Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison* outlines a reinterpretation of the progression of modern European history, namely the emergence of “bourgeois liberalism” which encompassed the “ideologies of individualism and progress”, and therefore the resultant ‘bureaucratization’ and hence the emergence of the “professions” (Foucault in Goldstein, 1984:174) and the “mechanisms of control” implemented through and by the “disciplines” (Foucault in Sheridan, 1995:222).

Foucault’s main focus is, however, on the emergence of this discourse in terms of the relevant conceptual codes and theory, as well as the “authorities of delimitation” which emerged in the nineteenth century. This delimitation is the way in which the institution possessed its own rules as a select group of persons, constituting the profession as a “body of knowledge and practice” and the recognition of this profession as authoritative in terms of public belief, the law and the state. This authoritative and state-supported professional discourse therefore became the main authority in society that, for instance, in the case of the medical profession, determined and categorised “madness as an object” (Foucault, 1972:42).

Foucault defines the role, position and status of the professional when he questions who and why a selected person or persons are accorded the right to speak, first, with authority, second, with a select “language” and, third are permitted by law or “tradition to proffer a discourse”.

“The status of a doctor involves a criteria of competence and knowledge; institutions, systems, pedagogic norms; legal conditions that give the right – though not without laying down certain limitations – to practise and to extend one’s knowledge [...]what is required of him as the supervisor, guardian, and guarantor of the health of a population” (Foucault,1972:50).

With reference to the above the terms ‘architect’ and ‘built environment’ can be superimposed and determined that as a discipline, they conform to the same

principles in general terms. The architectural profession (as with the medical profession) holds the mastery of “esoteric knowledge” which therefore determines the right to practice within the profession. This knowledge therefore contributes to an exclusive competence which, in turn, creates an autonomy and therefore control by the profession over its work and how it should be undertaken within a regulated (ethical) framework (Goldstein, 1984:175). Foucault elaborates further on the topic of who administers disciplines to the general population in terms of the medical profession and the necessary spatial configuration required in terms of institutional buildings designed specifically for the enforcement of the disciplines.

“...because the spatial configuration of specially designed buildings is intrinsic to ‘disciplinary’ practice, the ‘professional’ architects become, if not exactly administrators of ‘discipline’, certainly its handmaidens and accessories” (Goldstein, 1984:176, quoting Foucault, 1972:172).

As will be seen, this analogy is certainly applicable in the analysis of the architectural profession in South Africa. The CPIA was the first institute to be established in 1898 (or thereabout) and the Institute of South African Architects (hereafter referred to as the ISAA) was established in 1927 and was the only regulating body of the profession until the promulgation of the Architects Act in 1970 and the formation of the South African Council for Architects in 1971. The ISAA was the national body representing various regional bodies at provincial level.

The profession, in Foucauldian terms, played a role in the “extension of the representative apparatuses of the state”; in other words, the expansion of the police and prison systems, courts, governmental structures in the so-called ‘homelands’ and any other buildings designed to segregate or oppress the non-white population (Manzo, 1992:26). The ISAA came under increasing pressure after the Soweto uprising in 1976. This pivotal moment in South African history marked the beginning of the end of apartheid. The National Party of P.W Botha under the “banner of a total strategy against the total onslaught supposedly being waged against the country”, set about financing the domestic arms industry and initiated the destabilisation of “regional states” (Kriel, 2010:418; Manzo, 1992:36).

Schlapobersky describes the 1980’s as being a time of “intermittent reforms, endless waiting with spectacular hints, followed by draconian measures and long

periods of deep freeze” (Schlapobersky et al, 1994:17). These draconian measures were followed by large scale disinvestment by international corporations.

“As a profession the architects, though, were as quiet as mice.

Many were too busy nibbling away at the great apartheid cheese, pre-occupied with all those structures of separate development such as segregated ‘homelands’, learning institutions, vast complexes for the proliferating bureaucracies, police headquarters where the writ of *habeas corpus* did not apply, resettlements from Pageview and District Six and palaces for tin-pot dictators” (Schlapobersky et al,1994:17).

It has also subsequently emerged that a number of prominent architects in the post-apartheid era not only supported the ideology of the Nationalist government but were members of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (Basil Brink, interview, 3 October 2012). It is therefore important to analyse the role of the architectural profession during the apartheid era and its actions in supporting the objectives of the regime. The profession cannot be classified as ‘apolitical’ and separated from the politics of the time.

The ISAA, as a member of the International Union of Architects (UIA), was a signatory to the UIA Declaration of Architects adopted in Warsaw in 1981. This declaration, as a first principle, supported “a Declaration of Human Rights” (Schlapobersky et al,1994:17; Owen,1989:18). Contrary to this agreement to uphold human rights, members of the ISAA continued to design and construct buildings which supported the ‘infrastructure’ of the apartheid government. For this reason the ISAA was under pressure from the UIA to transform the profession and adhere to the agreement. The various schools of architecture accredited by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) were informed that the accreditation of their qualifications would be revoked if their students did not represent the demographics of South Africa (Owen, 1989:18). In October 1985, Mutiso (Vice-President of the UIA) issued a warning to the ISAA regarding their obligations in terms of the Warsaw Declaration and reminded the Institute of its expulsion from the Commonwealth Association of Architects (South Africa had withdrawn from the Commonwealth in 1961 after the Sharpeville massacre and the associated international condemnation) (Roger Fisher, interview, 25 September 2012).

Owing to this growing international pressure the ISAA issued a statement in December 1985 supporting their intentions with respect to the Warsaw Declaration, human rights, the “elimination of discrimination” and the need for “meaningful political participation of all people” (Joubert, 1985:21-22).

These declarations were seen as “inadequate” in the eyes of both the internal and international critics (Owen, 1989:19). On 22 January 1985 the RIBA Council debated the issue of continued recognition of the four open Schools of Architecture in South Africa (at Cape Town, Natal, Witwatersrand and the Orange Free State) and voted by a large majority to “withdraw recognition” with immediate effect (RIBA, 1986:16).

It is within this political environment that Architects Against Apartheid (AAP) was formed by Hans Schirmacher, Ivan Schlapobersky, Henry Paine, Clive Chipkin, Lindsay Bremner, Hylton Smith, Tony Wilkinson, Jeff Stacey, Ishwar Dayabhai, Leon van Schaik and Angus Greig in Johannesburg. The AAP was an “informal pressure group” which sought to challenge their colleagues to amend the Architects’ Act of 1970 to comply with the Warsaw Declaration. They drafted a Green Manifesto which made it “unethical” for the profession to engage in any of the following: designing buildings based on racial segregation, designing buildings (other than housing) for the so-called “homelands” and designing any building that would assist in furthering the enforcement of apartheid (prisons, police stations, law courts). The AAP members lobbied the Transvaal Institute of Architects and after receiving 158 signatories, requested a “General Assembly” to debate the amendment of the ISAA constitution (Ivan Schlapobersky, interview 21 September 2012; Schlapobersky et al, 1994:17).

“In essence this Declaration must be seen as a grand gesture against the State’s racist legislation and draconian methods needed to enforce these measures” (Schlapobersky et al ,1994:17).

A Special General Meeting of the Transvaal Institute of Architects was called by the president, Van der Westhuizen, to discuss the AAP manifesto and the proposed amendments to the ISAA constitution. The meeting on 7 July 1986 was

unprecedented in the history of the profession. The chair, Van der Westhuizen, permitted a counter resolution from the floor which proposed that the AAP resolution “not be put”. This was carried by a majority and the meeting ended abruptly without the discussion of the resolution. It is clear from the narrative of the meeting and the outcome that the profession saw themselves as “apolitical”. The outcome of this meeting and political reverberations resulted in South Africa’s being expelled from the UIA late in 1986. Many of the AAP members “suffered prolonged harassment” by the Security Police after the meeting. Hans Schirmacher and Leon van Schaik emigrated (Ivan Schlapobersky, interview, 21 September 2012).

“The country’s status as the ‘polecat of the world’ had been extended to its architects as well” (Owen, 1989:19).

The marginalisation of the profession did not prevent ISAA members from attending the Brighton UIA Conference in 1987 and other such events (Roger Fisher, interview 25 September 2012). Professor David Yuill provided a comprehensive article to the ISAA reporting on the UIA XVI Congress proceedings (Yuill, 1987:59). Numerous architects continued to study abroad in Europe, Britain and the USA. Those discussed in Chapter 4 are prominent members of the profession and academia and therefore their post-graduate interests are well known.

The AAP resolution challenged the profession and the members to contemplate their role in facilitating apartheid. Many professions, particularly the medical and legal fraternities, were challenging the *status quo* at the time. It could be argued that the AAP was active in the Transvaal: however, the repercussions of their actions ultimately affected the architectural profession at a national and international level.

How then do these events within the ISAA relate to conservation? Schlapobersky in part provided the answer by arguing the following:

“.....well, it was viewed as a safe option.... you were really just conserving and reinstating the existing and therefore this possibly would not be construed as unethical in terms of the AAP resolution?” (Schlapobersky interview, 21 September 2012).

Given this background, it is clear that the architectural profession has played a vital role in conservation in South Africa. There have been numerous significant conservation projects undertaken in the Western Cape since the beginning of the twentieth century. Initially these conservation projects focused on the Cape Dutch architecture constructed either by the VOC or the free burghers under the control of the VOC. The earliest work undertaken by Kendall, Eaton, Louw and others focused primarily on the old Cape Dutch homesteads complexes, churches and VOC governmental structures.

A critical discourse engaging with the issues of architectural conservation practice in South Africa has been absent over the last century. A number of academic works critiquing the conservation methodologies and philosophies of various architects have, however, emerged in the past decade, for example, Stephen Townsend (2003 PhD thesis on development rights and conservation constraints in the city centre of Cape Town), Peter Büttgens (2010 MPhil: Critical analysis of the reconstruction of the lacunae at the Castle of Good Hope by Gabriël Fagan), Mike Scurr (2010 MPhil: An assessment of Gabriël Fagan's contemporary conservation-related work) and Yvonne Leibman (2012 MPhil: Critique of the nationalist intent behind the transfer of Groot Constantia from Government to a private Trust in 1993).

Conservation Principles

However, in order to contextualise the theoretical conservation framework within which the restoration work undertaken during the apartheid era is sited it is necessary to return first to the principal theoretical arguments pertaining to conservation which emanated from the main protagonists during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century and discuss the work undertaken by Kendall and Eaton from 1925. It is generally accepted that the theoretical positions adopted by Viollet-le-Duc (1814 to 1879) who developed a stylistic restoration approach and Camillo Boito (1836 to 1914) who pursued the notion of the 'building as document' (preservationist doctrine) were polarised in their viewpoints. For the purpose of this discussion the focus is on the theoretical philosophy of Viollet-le-Duc (Jokilehto, 1999:159; Choay,2001:102).

Viollet-le-Duc argued that the restoration of the building meant its return to a state of historical stylistic consistency even if that form had never actually existed.

This approach is evident when referring to Viollet-le-Duc's seminal text, *Restoration* in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (The Foundation of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire Raisonné) published in 1854:

"Restoration.....both the word and the thing are modern. To restore an edifice means neither to maintain it, nor to repair it, nor to rebuild it; it means to re-establish it in a finished state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time" (Viollet-le-Duc quoted from Price, 1996:314).

This should not be interpreted as the replacement of edifices with elements that never existed, but rather the correct reconstruction of elements which could have formed part of the fabric over time. This implies reconstruction through a process of 'design-by-analogy,' in order to ensure a unification of the form and style of the building (Reiff, 1971:26).

"This does not mean that he replaces what has never existed, but that a railing changed in the fourteenth century, chapel decorations that had faded away by the sixteenth century, and stained glass and statues destroyed in the eighteenth century, would all be restored to their original state, although they had never actually coexisted. Thus, to restore a building is not *just* to preserve it, but to bring back to their original state all possible elements" (Reiff, 1971:27).

Viollet-le-Duc argues his point of view convincingly in the Dictionnaire where he states that meticulous research of all aspects of the building are vital prior to restoration commencing. He proposed therefore that all parts of the building be thoroughly documented and analysed in terms of their age, character and construction in order to ensure that each restoration is undertaken in such a way as to ensure architectural unity is obtained as an end result (Viollet-le-Duc quoted from Price, 1996:314).

"This placed the restoration on a scientific level, and not a personally creative one, as had been many previous and less firmly based restoration [.....] The only place for artistic intervention was in the replacing of parts of which no traces at all remained. In such instances, the artist first became thoroughly

familiar with the building's style, and then borrowed appropriately from some other structure at the same date, proportions, and type" (Reiff, 1971:27).

Viollet-le-Duc argues that in restoration any missing parts must be replaced by "reproducing exactly the forms of the edifices which have suffered decay" (Viollet-le-Duc, quoted from, Reiff, 1971:28). By this he means that the replication must utilise the "same kind of material" and methods as originally used by the craftsmen (Reiff, 1971:28).

"In restorations there is an essential condition that must always be kept in mind. It is that every portion removed should be replaced with better materials, and in a stronger and more perfect way. As a result of the operation to which it has been subjected, the restored edifice should have a renewed ease of existence, longer than that which has already elapsed" (Viollet-le-Duc [1875], quoted from Hearn, 1990:275).

Viollet-le-Duc argues that apart from the historical and technological aspects of restoration, the "intelligence of the architect is called into play". The architect must take on the role of an "artist" and ensure that he reconciles the stylistic whole of the edifice or building (Viollet-le-Duc [1875], quoted from Hearn, 1990:277).

This approach to restoration must be considered within the context of French nationalism and the centralised state control of historic monuments, as well the need to construct a unified national identity which was being actively pursued by the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*. (Choay, 2001:98,100).

"In this sense, the nationalism of the end of the nineteenth century represents features which can be defined as proto-fascist or as harbingers of fascism [.....] It is precisely here that one sees the originality of the turn-of-the-century nationalism: its synthesis of a romantic and dynamic nationalism with one which was socially and politically conservative" (Sternhell, 1971:47,49).

Viollet-le-Duc has been criticised for the "brutality of his interventions" as he was far too concerned with "reconstituting a type" and had forgotten the "distance that defines the historic monument". Choay argues that through reconstituting a type, he developed a "didactic tool for himself and returned to the restored object historical value, but not its historicity". Further, a building can only be "perceived as historical" if it belongs to both the present (attainable) and the past (unattainable). Viollet-le-

Duc often acknowledges this fact: however, his stylistic restorations do not take into account the “authenticity of the restored object” (Choay, 2001:105).

“It would be foolish to reproduce [in a restoration] an obvious flawed arrangement” (Viollet-le-Duc, quoted from Choay, 2001:105).

Viollet-le-Duc in essence placed himself in the position of the original architect. Ruskin and Morris argued that this was impossible and dismissed the “inanity of reconstruction or copy”. They criticised the assumption that was possible to “re-immense oneself in the in the spirit of the time” when the building was constructed and “identify oneself with the artist” (Ruskin [1878], quoted from Choay, 2001:103).

Conservation in the South African Context 1920-1980

Kendall and Eaton's conservation method of historical restoration established a conservation trend in South Africa which, in practice, was not dissimilar to Viollet-le-Duc's work and which persisted through the apartheid era. The restoration projects documented by Kendall and Eaton will therefore be discussed in order to provide a conservation context and a basis for discussing briefly the historical restoration work of Gabriël Fagan and Dirk Visser.

The earliest prominent restoration in South Africa was Kendall's work undertaken at Groot Constantia from 1926 after the homestead had been destroyed by fire (Kendall, 1927:9). His narration of the restoration of Groot Constantia provides valuable insight into the adaptation of the building by Hendrik Cloete post -1778, as do the arguments within the advisory committee and the Historical Monuments Commission when assessing the fire damage to the homestead. As architect, Kendall first established that the original building constructed by Simon van der Stel was a smaller building with a hipped thatch roof devoid of gables and he uncovered the original layers of the building from 1685 to 1812. The conservation approach agreed upon was to restore Groot Constantia (figure 3 & 4) to “its best” (Kendall, 1927:11). This argument meant that the building would be restored to a state in which it had never existed (Kendall, 1927:12). Where possible the original fabric was retained by bracing the existing gables with steel straps and a reinforced concrete beam encircling the entire building at the level of the *brandzolder* (attic) (Kendall, 1927:31).

Biermann argues that Kendall's decision to restore Groot Constantia to "its best" was a "subjective decision" and that it is indeed a successful restoration, as it represents the "true historical picture [.....] of the buildings" (Biermann,1968:34). This statement confirms his support of the stylistic method of Kendall and therefore the approach of the reconstruction lobby methods thereafter.

"Sundry details of design are of a lesser significance, and the main concern of the restorer should be not so much authenticity as the convincing appearance of mellowed age; that is to say, his main task is the preservation of that atmosphere I have just referred to. In this experience of the sympathetic handling of materials, rather than the aping of designs in themselves inferior, lies also the greatest promise of our historical buildings in making a contribution to the quality of our contemporary architecture" (Biermann,1968:35).

Eaton emphasises the rarity of Cape Dutch architecture and therefore the need for considered preservation which has a thorough "appreciation of the underlying principles" and methods employed in this "early work." He debates the issue of "preservation" by emphasising the need to read a building as a "three-dimensional document" which must be "correctly read and true to all its facts and features." By this he means that everything must be in "its original context and nothing must be falsified in the name of improvement". The result of the preservation must ensure that "everything can be proved to have originally belonged" or provide a "reasonable indication of having done so, must be maintained and put back without change" (Eaton, 1968:41).

"Equally important, the methods used in the reconstruction must be as near possible to those which would originally have been used, for it is extraordinary the extent to which the way of handling a material or an object – often invisible in itself – can affect the true character and quality of the over-all result" (Eaton,1968:41).

Eaton describes the successful restoration of Reinet House (figures 8 & 9) in 1950 (Graaff-Reinet), and attributes this to the reconstruction of "missing features and appropriate details". The "garden gable" and *bakoond*, for which there were no



Figure 3: Groot Constantia after the fire 1925, photograph Arthur Elliot (source: Kendall 1927:10) Figure 4: Groot Constantia after the restoration by Kendall 1927, photograph Arthur Elliot (source: Cape Archives ref E2394).

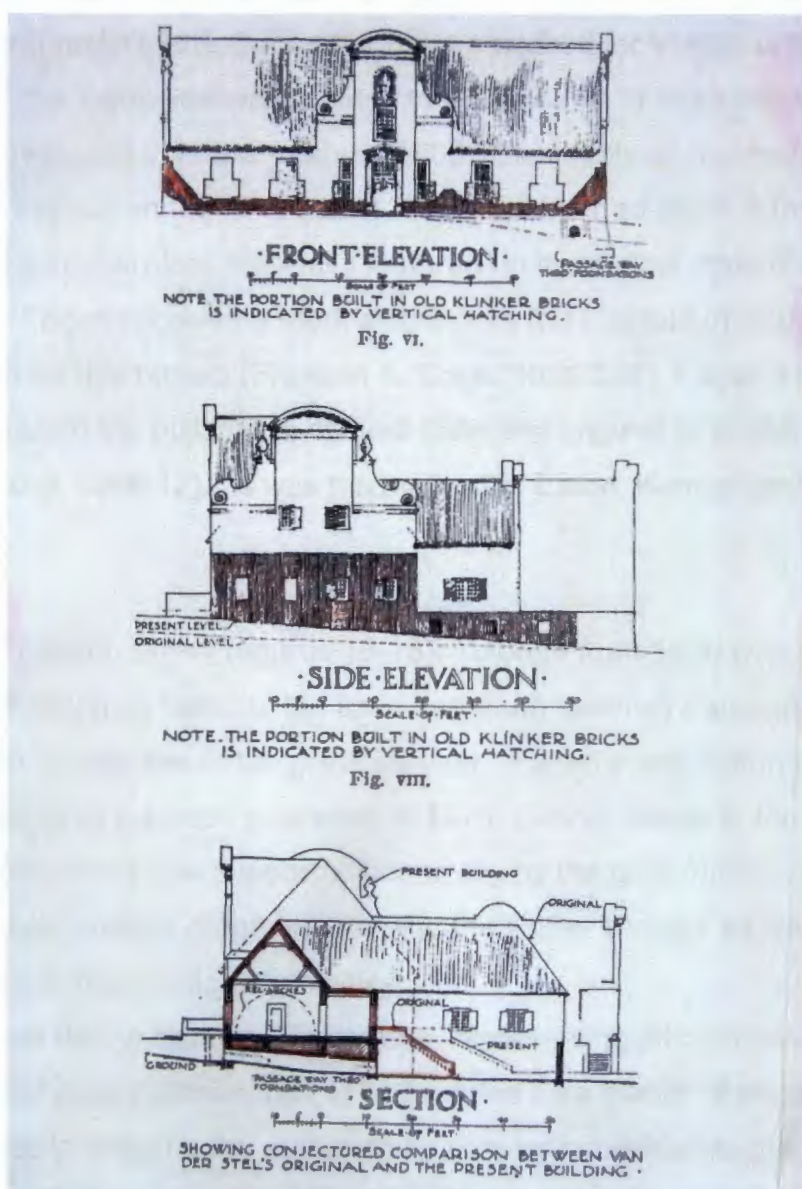


Figure 5: Drawing by Kendall illustrating the original homestead as constructed by van der Stel and the subsequent alterations destroyed in the 1925 fire (source: Kendall, 1927:22).

records, were reinstated using photographic evidence from an adjacent property (Eaton, 1968:42).

“In the light of all available evidence and all probability, the house had been returned once more, inside and out, to the form it must originally have possessed in, say, 1850” (Eaton,1968:47).

Eaton’s clear intention was to reinstate, restore and, where necessary, reconstruct in order to ensure the preservation of Cape Dutch architecture (Eaton, 1968:40).

The first conservation project completed by Fagan was La Dauphine (figures 6 & 7) in 1966 when he returned to the Cape after having worked for Volkskas Bank for a number of years. La Dauphine was granted to Etienne Nel in 1710 and the homestead built by Daniel Jacobsz in about 1809. The initials of Jacobsz and his Wife, Sara Maré, appear on the front gable. La Dauphine had been “superficially” Victorianised and was therefore “carefully restored” to its original state (Fransen & Cook,1980:225). Fagan received a merit award from the Institute of South African Architects in 1968 for this project (Fransen & Cook, 1980:225). Fagan’s intention was therefore to return the building to its best state and original form (SA Architectural Record, 1968:12), as was the method of Eaton, Kendall and Viollet-le-Duc.

His restoration of Church Street (figures 10-13), Tulbagh from 1970 was a substantial and challenging task, as the town had been severely damaged by an earthquake on 29 September of the previous year. Fagan’s restoration methods are clearly articulated in his book published in 1974, *Church Street in the Land of Waveren*. The restoration was supported financially by the government and numerous non-governmental organisations with the Prime Minister as Patron-in-Chief of the Tulbagh Restoration Committee.

“To implement this, a National Committee, representing all conservation bodies and interested organisations, had to be founded as a matter of priority. After an urgent visit to Pretoria the author could convey to his friends the good news that the Prime Minister, the Hon, B.J.Vorster, had



Figure 6: La Dauphine before the restoration (Immelman, 1968:illustration 15)



Figure 7 : La Dauphine after the restoration (Immelman, 1968:illustration 15)



Figure 8: Reinet House 1952, before restoration (Immelman, 1968:illustration 19)



Figure 9: Reinet House, after restoration (Immelman, 1968:illustration 20)

without hesitation agreed to become the Patron-in-Chief of the Tulbagh Restoration Committee” (Hoogenhout ⁸ in Fagan, 1974:10).

The primary aim of the committee was the “careful restoration of Church Street, and if possible other damaged buildings of historical or architectural merit farther a field” (Hoogenhout in Fagan, 1974:11). Fagan had a personal connection to Church Street as Judge Henry Fagan (Gabriël Fagan’s father) and his family had resided at numbers 32 and 34. The Tulbagh Drostdy had been established in 1699 by William Adriaan van der Stel, but the houses in Church Street constructed only after 1820. Many of the houses in Church Street had been substantially altered over the years with Victorian verandas, alterations and additions.

Fagan describes this part of the town, prior to restoration, as the “slums of Tulbagh.” He argues that the spaces within the houses had been reduced through subdivision and the buildings had not been maintained. Owing to a lack of photographic records and drawings, Fagan utilised a drawing by Josephus Jones and two photographs taken from a hillside overlooking Tulbagh (dated 1861 and 1895). These photographs provided the “outlines of the gables” and from this he derived a starting point for the restoration (Fagan, 1974:52; Gabriël Fagan interview, 3 October 2012).

“We had the outlines of the gables, but this would make no sense just to build the outlines (this would give the wrong impression), so we researched each family who had owned the houses and through this process found the details from family examples. Families had a tendency to replicate family gables” (Fagan interview, 3 October 2012).

And so the vast majority of the houses were stripped of the Victorianised alterations and reconstructed in a version of the Cape Dutch Style.

“Fagan also stated that to preserve elements of the English influence was financially impossible; i.e. to replace, for example, cast iron Victorian verandas after the earthquake would have been far too expensive with the limited budget allocated” (Buttgens, 2010:56).

⁸ I M Hoogenhout was appointed as convener of the Tulbagh Restoration Committee by the then Prime Minister, the Hon. B.J. Vorster in 1969.



Figure 10: Number 42 Church Street after the earthquake (Fagan,1975:162)



Figure 11: 42 Church Street after restoration (Fagan,1975:162).



Figure 12: Number 40 Church Street after the earthquake (Fagan,1975:157).



Figure 13: Number 40 Church Street after restoration (Fagan,1975:157).

The restoration of Church Street (figures 14 & 15) illustrates a conservation methodology which resulted in the buildings being reconstructed in many cases to their hypothetical original state. This process required a “design-by-analogy” approach which Fagan agrees is, in essence, a process of copying or replicating in order to achieve a result which returns a building to its “best state”. Fagan, as did the restorers of the nineteenth century, interpreted “meanings and value of authenticity” in the “imagined idea of the historical building and not the historical fabric” (Büttgens, 2010:54).

“One does ‘copy’ but only when buildings are very rare and when it is necessary to complete the picture” (Gabriël Fagan interview, 3 October 12).

“.....in his own words, ‘common sense’ solutions using stylistic and design-by-analogy methods where no documentary evidence existed”

(Büttgens, 2010:4).

This approach is clearly in keeping with the methodology of Eaton, Kendall and the conservation philosophy of Viollet-le-Duc which supported a stylistic and historical restoration although, it must be emphasised, none of these architects are known to have referred to Viollet-le-Duc by name. The restoration was of such national importance that a set of commemorative stamps was designed and printed in 1974 (figure 15).

Like Fagan, Visser pursued an approach of restoration and reconstruction based on historical research. One of Visser’s earliest conservation projects was the restoration of Nova Constantia, which was in a derelict state, in 1972. Nova Constantia was originally part of Bergvliet and Buitenverwach, with a subdivision of 28 morgen sold to Arend Brink in 1793. The original homestead was built in that year but with substantial changes after 1806 when L. Colyn became the owner. Fransen speculates that the homestead could possibly have been designed by Thibault, as he was responsible for the design and construction of Tokai. Visser restored the main homestead and reconstructed the gable on the wine cellar. Nova Constantia was declared a national monument in 1973 (Fransen & Cook, 1980:120).



Figure 14: Church Street Tulbagh 14 March 1974 (Fagan,1975:171).

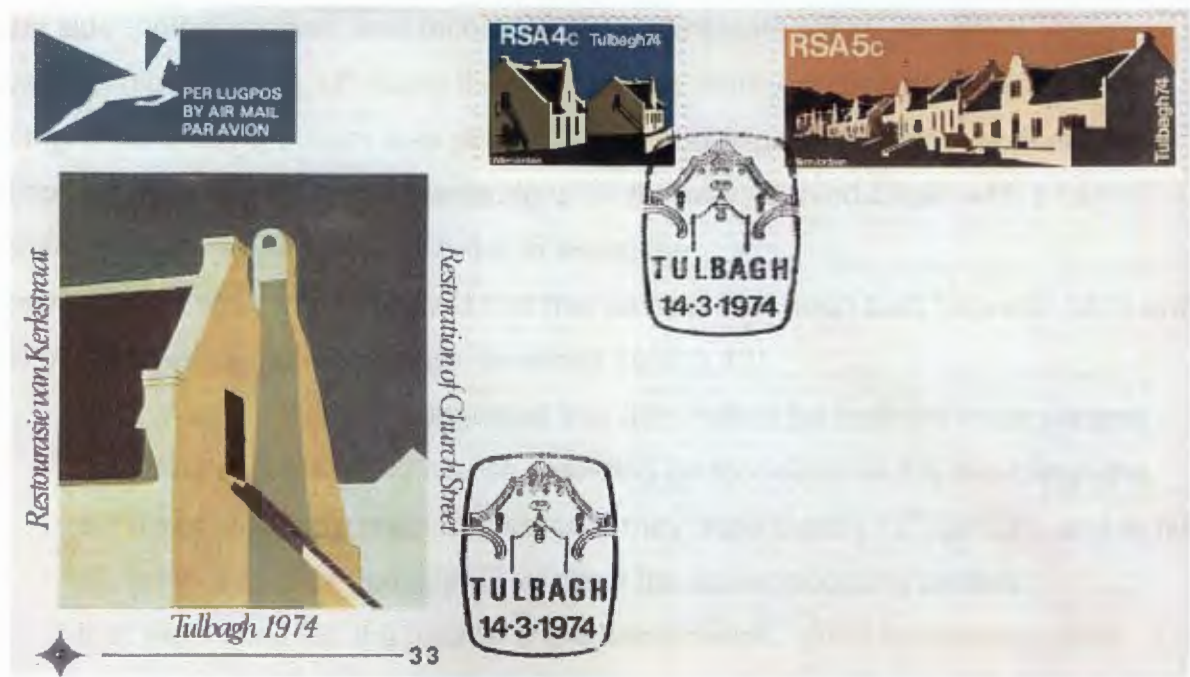


Figure 15: Commemorative stamps – restoration of Tulbagh 1974 (ebay,2012).

“An interesting case is that of Nova Constantia where it is known that the house was built in 1807. Fransen and Cook say that the Georgian sash windows must have been put in at the time of the first re-thatching in 1825 or 1830 or thereabouts. When we opened the house we found that those sash windows were original” (Haughton & Malan, 2003:33).

At Valkenburg the NMC insisted that Visser be appointed as a historical consultant to assist Trevor Thorold in the restoration and reconstruction of the existing homestead (Trevor Thorold, interview, 24 November 2012). The architect, Gregg Goddard, then still studying at the University of Cape Town, documented the reconstruction work on site (1986). Valkenburg was established in 1716, although the main homestead was built by Cornelius de Waal after 1746 and altered by Cornelis Mostert in 1815. Fransen describes this building as being “one of the finest remaining homesteads of the many that once bordered the Liesbeek” River (Fransen & Cook, 1980:89). The house had been superficially altered with a Victorian veranda and a tiled roof. The front “pedimented gable” was reconstructed owing to structural instability (Goddard, 1986:8,11). Thorold and Visser restored the side “holbol” gables” and reconstructed the intricate wavy parapet (figures 16 & 17) along the older double storey section of the north-facing wing. The existing plaster was stripped away and exposed the brickwork detailing. Thorold and Visser then proceeded to draw the wavy curved detail, with a central shell motif at a scale of 1:1, in order to assist the craftsmen on site. It is estimated that this parapet had been built between 1775 and 1790 (Fransen & Cook, 1980:89; Goddard, 1986:8,12).

“Dirk Visser, however, suggested that the profiles for both the main parapet moulding and the string course moulding be modelled on the mouldings the surviving west gate piers. Stylistically they were clearly 18th century, and in his experience, similar mouldings, or often the same moulding profiles that were used for the gables of the homesteads, could be found on gate piers, slave bells and outbuildings in the same vicinity” (Goddard, 1986:36).



Figure16: Valkenburg – reconstruction of the north-facing wing
(source: Goddard, 1986).



Figure 17: Valkenburg – reconstruction of the north-facing wing
(source: Goddard, 1986).



Figure 18: Valkenburg – north-facing wing (source: Goddard, 1986).

Visser restored his own home Vredenburg in a similar manner, reconstructing the gable through a process of design-by analogy.

“When rebuilding the missing 1802 front gable of his house, Vredenburg, according to Burchell’s drawing, he enjoyed putting a final decorative touch of the initials DVV and JDB which covered the whole Visser family including David and Bertha” (Munnik, 2003:9).

Very little has been written by Visser regarding his approach to conservation, so therefore anecdotal information from secondary sources had to be relied upon, such as the notes transcribed by Antonia Malan and Rose Haughton at a lecture delivered by Visser at a VASSA workshop in 1999.

“When the building is simply to be kept as an artefact, stating something of its time – then it’s easy. You restore it as a ‘museum artefact’ [.....] But if good additions have been made, you may wish to keep them” (Haughton & Malan, 2003:33).

The varied nature of his conservation projects does, however, provide insight on closer inspection. Certain of the buildings involved careful conservation and minimal restoration, as in the case of Nova Constantia; others, such as the complete reconstruction of Newlands House, required a stylistic recreation of a new building intended to replicate the original which had been destroyed by fire in 1981.

The State and the National Monuments Council

All the conservation work completed during the apartheid era was controlled by the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC) established in 1934 or National Monuments Council (NMC) (established in 1969 replacing the HMC).

Frescura provides insight into the intentions, values and the actions of the HMC and NMC from 1940 onwards. His discussion regarding the NMC is pertinent, in particular his interpretation of the data pertaining to the declarations made by the NMC and the composition of the Council appointed by the State (Frescura, 1991).



Figure 19: Valkenburg – west-facing façade (source: Thorold, 2012).

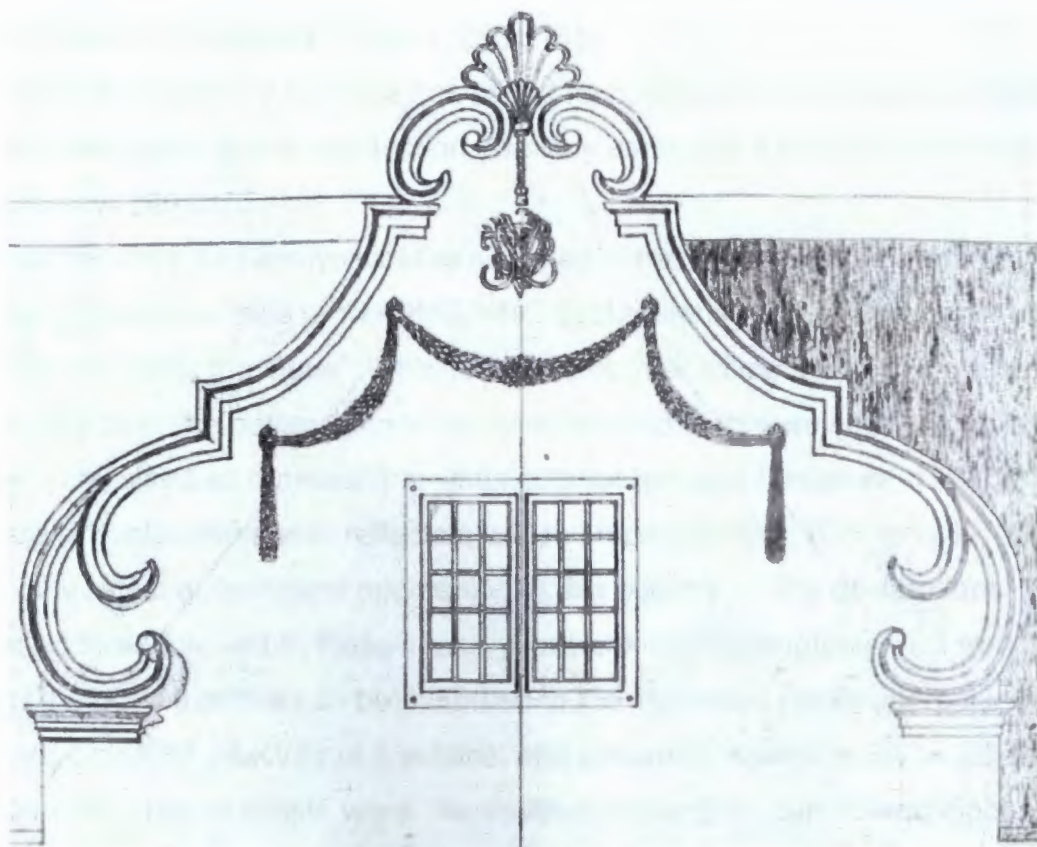


Figure 20: Vredenburg – gable drawing by Dirk Visser (source: VASSA, 2003).

The NMC was a body tasked by the state with the “preservation of old buildings and artefacts through a process of selective ‘monumentalisation’ ” (Frescura, 1992:6).

“At a time when South Africa’s white minority found its legitimacy being challenged from a variety of sources, it is natural that it should have sought to reinforce its precarious claim to tenure by elevating examples of its material culture to the status of ‘monuments’ ”(Frescura,1992:6).

Revel Fox had previously argued that this was indeed wrong and had argued that in order to achieve “cultural representation, our very history books will have to be re-written” in order to be inclusive of the “different groups” within our society (Fox [1986] quoted from Frescura, 1992:6).

Choay argues that this form of “historical heritage” appears to “play the part of a great mirror” in which contemporary societies “contemplate” their image, hence a form of “passive contemplation” or “narcissism.” This requirement of a “strong and consistent self -image” can be viewed as a process through which societies consciously construct their identity in an effort to stave off the “anxieties and uncertainties of the present” (Choay, 2001:165). .

“Thus the historical heritage has ceded its constructive function to a defensive one dedicated to the recollection (in every sense) of a threatened identity” (Choay, 2001:165).

Frescura’s survey and analysis of the activities of the National Monument Council provide proof of the “bias of the HMC/NMC declarations” with an “overwhelming orientation towards the Cape”. The declarations over a time frame of 54 years show that two-thirds of the national monuments were sited in this province, as well as 97 per cent classified as representing white cultural heritage (Frescura, 1991:18). The rate of declarations also reflects a sudden increase from 1974 to 1989, “the years of greatest government oppression in this country”. The declarations increased three-fold within these fifteen years with 826 monuments declared. Frescura argues that this can be attributed to the increased public interest in cultural heritage,; however , “factors of a political and economic nature” must be taken into consideration. These events were the death of Steve Biko, the Soweto riots, increased guerrilla activity by the ANC, international disinvestment and the State of Emergency of 1985 (Frescura,1991:17,18; Frescura,1992:7).

“This is probably indicative of a mind set which has not progressed much beyond a settler mentality, seeking to emphasise immigrant roots and to justify a white presence at the tip of an otherwise ‘dark’ continent” (Frescura,1991:18).

Frescura argues that the “relationship between the HMC/NMC and the ruling political ideology” must be examined, as this provides insight into the links between the state and the conservation of cultural heritage.

“Since 1969 about 71 people have been nominated to the NMC Council. Of these, 54 have been Afrikaans-speaking, only three have been women and two have originated from outside the white community” (Frescura, 1992:12).

He deliberates further on the political and cultural origins of the Council members and confirms that at least twelve of the elected persons over 21 years were known members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. The members listed include FD Conradie, Member of Parliament for Oranjezicht; Prof JJ Oberholzer (who was a member of the NMC Council from 1951 to 1976 and in 1971 became the NMC’s first Executive Director); Dr WA Cruywagen (former Minister of Education) and H Sloet (Director of FAK) (Frescura,1992:12).

A similar representation is found in the composition of the members, donor members and patrons of the Stigting Simon van der Stel (Simon van der Stel Foundation). The National Council was made up of ten members of whom four were known members of the Afrikaner Broederbond – FD Conradie (Wilkins,Strydom,2012:A19); BJ van der Walt (Wilkins,Strydom,2012:A115), and JBC Roets (Wilkins,Strydom,2012:A92). The patron members Federale Mynbou Bpk (General Mining Inc), Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (FAK) and Volkshuis Bpk were known members of the Afrikaner Broederbond (Wilkins, Strydom, 2012:49,59,65,112 & 427). Donor members included the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurbond, SA Polisie Kultuurvereniging, Scachat Holdings Ltd, Afrikaanse Pers, Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging. The Patron-in-Chief of the Simon van der Stel Foundation, J.J Fouche (Wilkins,Strydom,2012:A39), was one of the most prominent members of the Broederbond (Basil Brink interview,3 October 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the natures of power, nationalism, culture, heritage and ideology. It has also created the context within which the apartheid era conservation projects were implemented and has delineated the conservation theory underpinning the methodology used by the architects engaged. It has also implied the creation of a dominant cultural ideology by the South African nationalist government which sought to promote European cultural superiority and the creation of a white settler heritage. The following chapter will provide an analysis of the selected case studies within the context of this framework.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the relationships between the following:

- the State (as both client and promoter of a political ideology),
- the architectural profession, and
- conservation of the built environment during the apartheid era.

In order to contextualise this analysis it is necessary to return briefly to the concept of power as discussed in Chapter 3, as this is the key element around which everything is positioned and controlled. Power, as defined by Foucault, is key in the definition of the nation state owing to the fact that power relations are dominated by government. In other words, power relations were “governmentalised” and therefore “elaborated, rationalised and centralised in the form of [...] state institutions” (Foucault quoted from Fabion, 2000:345). This power relationship defines the broader network of inter-relationships between the state, its bureaucracies, the various affiliated governmental institutions such as the NMC, and the profession. These “governmentalities” promoted the nationalist ideology and therefore assisted in the concretisation of the national heritage construct (Joireman, 2003:12). This construct was supported by the manipulation, “censorship and projection” of an affected political history (Nora, 1989:9).

This analysis will also focus on the conservation discourse in South Africa, the effects of isolation, legislation applicable from 1964 to 1993 and the influence of the several charters. The legislation applicable at the time of the restoration and reconstruction work from 1970 was the National Monuments Act, No 28 of 1969 (NMAct).

National Monuments Act, No 28 of 1969 (NMAct) focused primarily on the declaration and protection of national monuments and sites. This was in keeping with resolutions 6 and 7 of the Athens Charter (1931), which focused primarily on

“art and historical significance” (Townsend, 2003:30). It did not define the principles or definitions pertaining to heritage and conservation in the current legislation (the National Heritage Resources Act, no 25 of 1999). It also provided the Minister and the National Monuments Council with overarching powers pertaining to monuments and sites.

“It was still aimed primarily at individual buildings, and the ability of the Minister to declare any object of historical, aesthetic or scientific interest to be a monument remained as a cornerstone of the legislation [...] The NMC itself was able to *provisionally* proclaim monuments for five years without consulting the Minister and without agreement from the owner. These wide discretionary powers given to the Minister and to the NM Council were even greater than those of the British legislation on which, as a former British colony, the South African legislation is based” (Townsend, 2003:63).

The last amendment of the Act in 1986 introduced a fifty year ‘blanket’ protection clause, the compilation of heritage asset registers by the NMC and the “designation of conservation areas” (Townsend, 2003:64). The purpose of the Act and the NMC, as discussed in the previous chapter, was to ensure the state’s role as curator of the national heritage and thereby the “invocation” of various cultural symbols (Witz, 2003:11-13).

Case 1: De Tuynhuys – The State President’s Residence

In order to discuss the significance of De Tuynhuys, a brief description of the historical origins and development of the building is necessary.

Historical Background, Context and Significance

The Company Gardens were established by Van Riebeeck in 1652. The extent of the gardens was sixteen hectares with the assistant gardener’s house (*Het Tuynhuys*) and the tool shed (*Compagniestuinhuis*) constructed within the gardens. In 1682 the *compagniestuinhuis* was substantially altered as a guest house and was a “small rectangular building with a thatched roof” (Rencken, 1972:7). It was subsequently converted into a pavilion with a flat roofed terrace as described and illustrated by Père Tachard in 1685 (figure 21).

This building was further altered with the construction of a second floor prior to 1710, when it was described by the explorer Kolbe and then by Valentyn as a “double-storey building with a flat roof on which people could walk” (Rencken, 1972:8). The building was converted by Governor Tulbagh into a single-storey H-shaped house with a thatched roof and “trilobal gables,” as shown in the sketch by Schneider in 1777 (figure 22). (The “pattern of this gable could still be traced in the brickwork of the front wall” when Fagan uncovered it during the restoration).

After Tulbagh’s alterations the house was subsequently used as a summer residence by the Dutch governors and therefore became known as Government House for the next two centuries (Fagan, 2005:54; Rencken, 1972:9,10). It is not known when the building was altered once more into a double-storey structure. The drawing by Josephus Jones (dated 1790) of the Company’s Garden and Government House late in the eighteenth century reflects a “completely different façade” (figure 40). The thatched roof had been “replaced by a flat roof with an ornate cornice and balustrade complete with figures of Neptune and Mercury on a central segmental gable” (Fagan, 2005:54). This ornamental style is “strongly reminiscent” of the work undertaken by Anton Anreith and was therefore probably constructed during the period of Governor Van de Graaff, under the instruction of the architect Thibault (Rencken, 1972:11) in other words. circa 1785 to 1791.

“These decorations were already depicted on the sketches Van de Graaff had commissioned from Josephus Jones and which were re-discovered in the Delft archives in the Netherlands by Dr C Koeman in 1950” (Rencken, 1972:11).

The first British Governor, Lord McCartney, resided at Government House from 5 May 1797. Substantial alterations were made to the building at the beginning of the second British occupation by Lord Charles Somerset. His intentions were to change the character of the Government House and in 1806 he instructed the architects to convert the building into a “typical Georgian country house” (Rencken, 1972:15).



Figure 21: Earliest sketch of the garden Pavilion by Père Tachard, 1685 (Fagan,2005:55)



Figure 22: The Schneider sketch shows the trilobal gable of Tuynhuys on the edge of the company garden (left hand side of the image) (Rencken,1972:11)

“The decorative façade and other baroque adornments from the Dutch period were plastered over and concealed. Verandas were added as well as Georgian windows and a low sloping Welsh slate roof. Somerset also demolished one of the existing wings to build a new ballroom. However, the construction was of poor quality and had to be re-built in 1874” (Rencken, 1972:15,16).

Somerset’s “raised verandahs” were constructed in the typical English Regency style with “delicate cast iron railings, slate paving and slender teak uprights and scalloped bargeboards” and they were described as the “most elegant ever built at the Cape in the Regency Style” (figures 41 & 42) by Lewcock (1963:126). Minor alterations were undertaken by Sir Lowry Cole (1830 to 1832) and Sir George Napier (1840 to 1843). The exterior of the building “remained virtually unchanged” until the restoration undertaken by Fagan in 1968. The building was completely “re-decorated and refurbished for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall in 1902” (Rencken, 1972:18).

De Tuynhuys is, in terms of its history, a building of great significance. Despite numerous requests submitted to the Historical or the later National Monuments Commission by various parties for the building to be declared a national monument, the state refused to consider the request (NMC archives - Letter, E Jansen, 12 July 1959; Letter, Fehr, 7 November 1959; Director General, Department of Community Development to NMC, 21 October 1983). The Department of Public Works would not consider the declaration.

“Having regard to this department’s policy in regard to buildings of historical interest under its control, which cooperative attitude is well known to the Historical Monuments Commission, it is not understood why the proclamation of this residence should be considered” (Letter, Secretary Ministry of Public Works, to HMC, 27 June 1960).

It appears that the state did not wish to be constrained by any form of heritage legislation when dealing with their buildings.

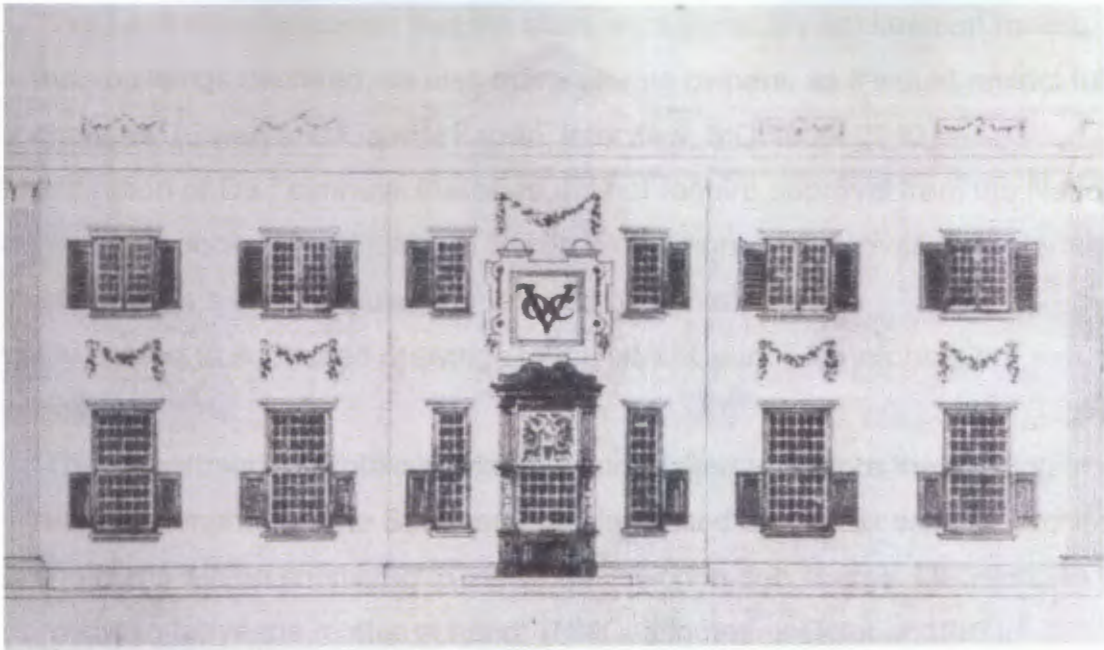


Figure 23: The Stalplein Façade drawing by Schutte (Rencken,1972:22).

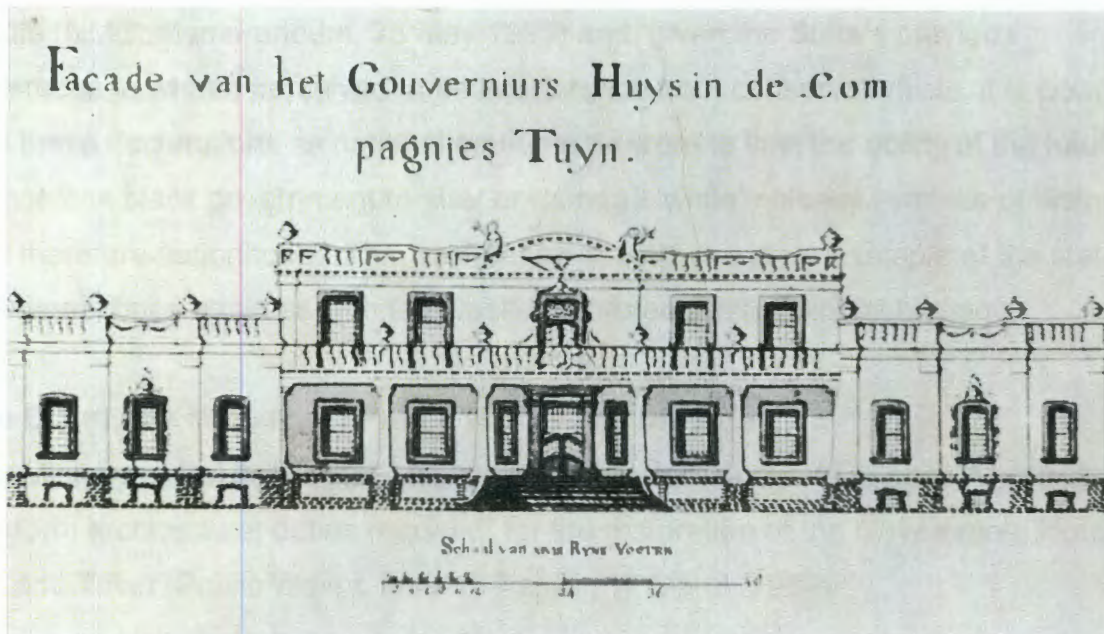


Figure 24: "The small Rococo palace in the Company's Garden as drawn by Josephus Jones c. 1790. The central balcony with ornate balustrade and urns is similar to those of the flanking single storey extensions" (Fagan,2005:55).

“We have the impression that the state were generally not keen on having their buildings declared, as also many private owners, as it would restrict future changes” (Gwen and Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012).

The restoration of De Tuynhuys therefore did not require approval from the National Monuments Council. The Ministry of Public Works agreed, however, to undertake the restoration in a “responsible manner” and as a matter of formality agreed to submitted drawings to the NMC Council for information purposes.

“The Department of Public Works has undertaken to restore the building in a respectful manner. The Secretary has discussed the matter with the architect and plans will be submitted to the Commission in due course. Decision: In the interim to leave the matter at hand” (NMC, minutes, 2 October 1967).⁹

De Tuynhuys was declared a national monument on 4 June 1993 immediately before the first democratic elections. Various state properties were declared on the same date, namely Groote Schuur, Klein Schuur, Westbrooke, Rheenzicht and De Meule (NMC, Memorandum, 28 May 1993) and, given the State’s previous resistance to what it perceived to be interference from conservationists, it is clear that these declarations as national monuments were to limit the ability of the future democratic black government to alter or damage ‘white’ colonial symbols of history and therefore nationhood. This declaration in 1993 is a clear example of the state’s intentions, once again as with the Castle, to protect white colonial heritage

The Client, the Ministry of Public Works and the Brief

The Ministry of Public Works “extended an invitation” to Gabriël Fagan Architects to “perform architectural duties required” for the restoration of the Government House in Cape Town (Public Works, letter to Fagan, 17 March 1967).

This building is significant in that it was and had been the residence of the Governor or State President for centuries, and it represented a “common European culture” (Coetzer, 2007:151). As discussed in the previous chapter, Cape Dutch

⁹ National Monuments Council Minutes of 2 October 1967, translated from Afrikaans by the author. (Researcher?)



Figure 25: Government House façade facing onto the Company Gardens (Cape Archives, Elliot Collection, E7994)



Figure 26: Government House façade facing onto Stal Plein (Cape Archives, Elliot Collection, E7993)

architecture was considered during the apartheid era to be “the most authentic form of South African architectural heritage” and therefore “became synonymous with conservation practice as well as nationalist Afrikaner history” (Murray et al, 2007:3). Therefore there is a clear link between this particular aesthetic and the role that architects played in concretising a chosen discourse or ideology. Architecture is therefore inextricably tied to the process of social mythification and the production of an aesthetic which either “supports or subverts hegemonical power” (Porphyrios quoted from Ockman, 1985:16).

This was the first appointment awarded to Fagan Architects by the Ministry for restoration work (Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012). Prior to this appointment Fagan met with Mr and Mrs Dönges (Dönges was President from 1967 to 1968), Mr Driessen and Mr Hugo at Government House on 30 March 1967 (Fagan, notes, 3 April 1967). John Rennie, then a young recent graduate and working for Fagan at the time, confirms this meeting.

“Mrs Dönges (and her husband) had apparently indicated they would like to be housed in Government House with certain renovations to be addressed. Eben Dönges had been elected President at the time but took ill and Fouché deputised for him. The project they had requested had been initiated to see Government House restored to become the official residence of the State President. Under Gawie’s hands, research and initiative it developed into a more extensive project than first indicated. Unfortunately Eben Dönges suffered a stroke and never recovered. He died six months later” (John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012).

Public Works initially requested that De Tuynhuys be restored as per Silip Schutte’s drawing of the Stal Plein façade (figure 23) dated 1758. This confirms the intention of the state to return the building to its original Dutch/VOC form, but exploratory work on site established that this design had never been executed.

“We were asked to reconstruct the façade facing Stal Plein according to a drawing by Silip Schutte. Schutte’s drawing proved never to have been executed, however, and so was not followed in any way” (Gwen Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012).

Fagan's Intervention and Methodology

Fagan confirms that it was decided to restore the building to its "late 18th century appearance" owing to the fact that most of his documentary information related to that period and the original structure of that era was still intact. The discovery of the partially demolished rococo balustrade confirmed this decision and the building was therefore restored to that period because of the significance of this remaining detail (Fagan, 2005:54). As with the restoration at the Castle, Fagan consciously restored the building to a particular period, namely the VOC era. Significant parts of the British Regency style alterations of Lord Somerset were demolished, with a few minor remnants of the verandas left partially intact. This was a distinctive decision as these were precisely the parts described by Lewcock as the "most elegant ever built at the Cape in the Regency style" (1963:126). Fagan, however, glosses over this and refers to the parts not demolished:

"There was no reason to demolish them. They do not seem to detract from the whole, and represent an important phase and layer" (Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012).

Once again, as with the Castle of Good Hope, Fagan cites the rarity of the rococo façade of De Tuynhuys to have dictated the method of conservation. As discussed previously, this conscious decision is a cultural and architectural choice. The stylistic approach to the restoration of De Tuynhuys ensured that the rococo façade was reinstated through the reconstruction of the balcony and parapet lacunae by Fagan and Hunter.¹⁰ The numerous alterations to Tuynhuys resulted in it being described as "an architectural palimpsests (sic) on which the history of our country had been repeatedly described" (Rencken, 1972:19). This palimpsest was falsified in the process of reinstating the building to its original form as depicted by Josephus Jones.

"Tuynhuys, the urban seat of the President, located in the parliamentary complex is (in its original and restored guise) indeed a rare example.

There are few examples of major examples from the 18th century in Cape Town, and the rococo parapet, to name one element, is one of only three

¹⁰ Sydney Hunter sculptor – Cape Town



Figure 27: De Tuynhuys during the restoration 1967 – Company Gardens façade (Immelman, 1968: plate 38)



Figure 28: Tuynhuys, 1970 – during the removal of the slate roof (Scurr, 2011:61 - Source, Rennie slide collection.)

surviving in Cape Town. The Somerset era early 19th century work, while certainly a substantial layer in the building, was deemed by Fagan to be not unique (i.e. rare) and was removed to enable the restored and reconstructed Josephus Jones (rare) façade. Tuynhuys may also be significant, but in Fagan's view, most important of all is that it is rare" (Scurr, 2011:122).

Fagan proceeded with the restoration after exhaustive historical research, which dismissed the Sillip Schutte elevation of the Stal Plein façade and suggested that the Josephus Jones drawing (figure 24) of the Company Garden façade was indeed authentic. Fagan, aware of the drawing which had been referred to by Lewcock, Bax and Koeman (John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012) says the "dimensions of the central section, the veranda and the balcony had not changed appreciably," and he stripped the plaster on the façade and opened the veranda ceiling (Rencken, 1972:20). The exploration of the ceiling space resulted in the discovery of the partly demolished decorative balustraded parapet as depicted by Jones. Fagan and Rennie recall this discovery, particularly as Biermann had dismissed the illustration as fictitious in his discussions with the Fagans regarding the restoration (John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012; Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012).

"Various finds were made on site, the most dramatic being Gawie's spotting the surviving balustraded parapet and plaster cornice remains, part altered high on the harden front and concealed by the upper balcony lean-to roof and its horizontal ceiling. Gawie photographed the entire length of the balustrade remains and stuck the contact prints together to form a ribbon. This photographic image was sent to Barrie Biermann (and Ronald Lewcock) after Barrie's remarking that the Jones drawing could have possibly been a proposal and never been built, i.e. could be fictitious or "Disney Dutch" (John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012).

Fagan refers to this event as 'the most important find in this field this century ' and later compared it to the excavation of Simon van der Stel's circa 1706 'Dolphin Pool' foundations at the Castle" (Büttgens, 2010:56). However, if Fagan's photographs and the image (plate 38) in Immelman (figure 27) are examined, it is clear that very little of the balustraded parapet remained and there was no trace of



Figure 29: Tuynhuys restored and reconstructed Company Gardens Façade (Munnik Visser,2012)



Figure 30: The restored balustrade (Munnik Visser,2012)



Figure 31: Garden façade entrance detail (Munnik Visser,2012)



Figure 32: Tuynhuys restored and reconstructed Company Gardens Façade illustrating the remainder of the reconstructed Regency style verandahs (Munnik Visser,2012)

the balcony balustrade as illustrated by Josephus Jones (figure 24).

“Mr Fagan therefore let himself be guided by the approach that the restoration should not be insensitive to later additions which might be architecturally satisfying. Consequently, the ‘old’ Tuynhuys was restored as faithfully as possible while the wings which were added later were changed to adapt to it visually” (Rencken, 1972:19).

This considerably understates the “clipping of the wings” and the stripping of the Regency style detailing from the Company Garden façade. The altered remnants of the Regency style balconies hardly represent the additions of Somerset (figure 29). The façade, once stripped of plaster, revealed the position of lintels and thresholds of the original openings. The sizes of the original windows could be determined owing to the fact that the window sill lines were still visible. John Rennie recalls how one of the last remaining original garden façade windows was discovered within the building and formed a template for the “façade joinery” (John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012).

“The restoration of the front (garden façade) was based on the Jones drawings and collective findings on site such as ghost extent on the underside of the surviving timber lintels, a surmise that the teak columns were probably the originals although portrayed more stockily by Jones. There are six columns including the end engaged ones. The façade joinery was based partly on an old 18th Century window within the building and also exhaustive comparisons with existing period works e.g. the Rust en Vreugd façade openings, various details at the Castle, Alphen etc” (John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012).

The restoration and reconstruction therefore focused on removing all traces of the Regency style alterations undertaken by Somerset from the building.

Mullins, Secretary for the Ministry of Public Works, debated with Fagan the possibility that the main cornice, coping and pierced balustrade on the front garden façade were similar to those on the Stal Plein façade (DPW, letter to Fagan, 19 October 1967). The reason for this was that the flat beamed roof that Fagan had proposed did not meet with their approval and Public Works intended to remove the openings in the balustrade on the garden façade. Fagan was adamant that the pierced balustrade must be exposed and not reconstructed as per the Stal Plein

façade. This illustrates his purist *stylistic* approach to the reconstruction of the façade and the restoration of the building as a whole. He was not persuaded by the Ministry to amend the design and maintained his vision of how the building should be restored and reconstructed.

“We feel very strongly about the importance of showing off the fine Rococo balustrade, the only remaining one in the country, to its best advantage. To replace this with panels to match as suggested on the sketches appears unthinkable. I respectfully submit herewith amended drawings 17112/9A and 10A which allow for a straight forward flashing line and valleys springing from the corners as requested, by using a conventional flat roof construction (Fagan, letter to DPW, 16 January 1968).

Fagan reconstructed the façade as per his interpretation of the Jones drawing and the existing remaining structure. The pierced Rococo balustrade was repaired, the segmented gable reconstructed and the sculptures of “the infant Mercury and Poseidon” recreated by Sydney Hunter (Rencken, 1972:22) and Prof Bax provided guidance on the recreation of the putti (Gwen Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012).

Fagan commissioned sculptor Sydney Hunter to recreate “the entire balustrade in the style of Anton Anreith” (Rencken, 1972:22). Hunter created models of the façade for approval by the Ministry of Public works and Fagan (Fagan, letter to DPW, 30 January 1968). The door surrounds and top lights were designed and carved by the artist, Joseph Vazirgiantzikis (Fagan, 2005:54).

The restoration of the interior (figures 33 - 37) was based on information obtained from archival research and the numerous plans which indicated the development of the building. The exploration of the building led to the discovery of “architectural overlays and changes to the fabric”. This process of research and analysis “clarified the original design” (Fagan, 2005:54). Fagan submitted his motivation and drawings to the Ministry of Public Works prior to commencing with the restoration of the interiors. He emphasised the use of a simple Cape Dutch style. He was not



Figure 33: "The staircase 1967"
(Fagan, 2005:58)



Figure 34 : "The balustrade restored to its
original design (Fagan, 2005:59).



Figure 35 : "The restored hall with new screen" (Fagan, 2005:58)

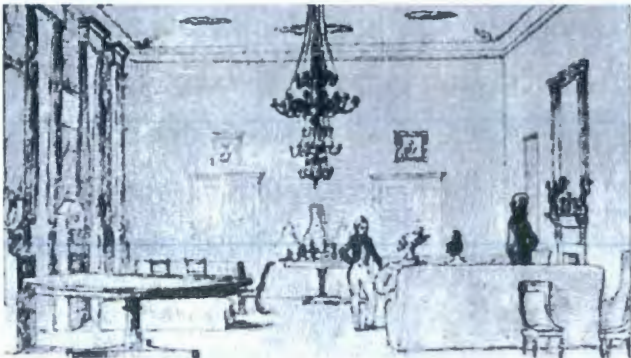


Figure 36 : "The morning room in the 1830's as
Drawn by D'Oily" (Fagan, 2005:59)



Figure 37: "The drawing room restored with
ceiling roses and chandeliers copied from
the D'Oily drawing" (Fagan, 2005:59).

willing to consider the suggestion of DPW and their request for a twentieth century interior (letter DPW, to Fagan, 13 November 1967).

“The interior treatment must be appraised in its full architectural context: The restored plan form, windows and doors, and much of the existing work as can be usefully preserved [...] magnificent dignity can be achieved with a simple Cape wall and ceiling treatment, which is in fact a more sympathetic background to the use of modern furniture than the ‘enriched plaster ceilings and cornices’ suggested in your letter of the 13 November 1967” (Fagan, letter to DPW, 16 January 1968).

Fagan was very persuasive in his argument regarding the interiors and therefore reinstated the original central hall, doors to the garden and the Dutch screen as per the 18th century drawings (figure 37). The morning room was restored with reference to D’Oily’s drawing and photographs (figures 48 & 49). The ceiling roses were recreated by Hunter (Fagan, 2005:54).

The project was scheduled to be completed by January 1971. Correspondence to the state buyer from the Ministry of Public Works reflects that the work undertaken was more complex and time consuming than expected and for this reason requested that the tender process for procurement of services and material be waived (letter, DPW to the State Buyer, 24 October 1969).

“The work has been in progress during the past two parliamentary sessions [...] Having regard to the prestige nature of the restoration work involved [...] the selection of the correct materials will therefore be entirely entrusted to the responsible private architect in terms of his commission [...] This service is regarded as a matter of national importance. To enable the Department to complete the work timeously, Tender Board exemption is required, allowing the Department to purchase out of hand by selection, all necessary materials etc” (letter, DPW to the State Buyer, 24 October 1969).

This correspondence highlights first, the importance of the project to the state and second, the overarching powers and responsibilities of the architect in terms of the procurement of services and materials for the completion of the building. This is somewhat unusual when considering the procurement policies of the state.

Fagan was also asked to restore the original landscape on the Company Garden side of the building. The many plans reflected a “parterre garden” with four symmetrical beds (Fagan, 2005:60). Gwen Fagan was instrumental in the recreation of the original Tuynhuys garden (Gwen Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012). Fagan’s correspondence reflects the detail of the geometry and planting required – he refers to the drawings and the specifics of the planting (Fagan, letter to DPW, 14 August 1971).

Conclusion

Fagan argues that much of the work undertaken at De Tuynhuys involved the removal of “accretions and stylistic adaptations that had occurred over time” and that the rarity of the artefact dictated the method. He argues that it would have been “illogical and unacceptable to place (for example) a glass lift shaft in Tuynhuys” (Scurr, 2011:124). Similarly in an urban context Fagan argues that a contemporary intervention, in accordance with the relevant charters, would not be applicable in the context of Tulbagh: “the maintenance of the over all cohesion of Tulbagh streetscape absolutely overrides the possibility of an intrusion in that context” (Scurr, 2011:124).

“Fagan therefore regards the maintenance of the stylistic unity of the whole as something which overrides the need for adhering to a charter or conservation principle in cases where there is deemed rarity (or significance) of that sort” (Scurr, 2011:124).

The streetscape of Tulbagh is a reconstruction and therefore cannot be deemed authentic in terms of the contemporary charters.

Once again, as with the Castle, the rarity of the building dictated the method Fagan’s of conservation in the stylistic restoration and the reconstruction the lacunae according to the illustration by Josephus Jones . Fagan therefore



Figure 38: Tuynhuys Stal Plein façade (Munnik Visser,2012)



Figure 39: Tuynhuys Stal Plein façade (Munnik Visser,2012)

approached this project from the position of a particular cultural and architectural mindset. His intentions were therefore clear from the outset: that the original Dutch building be reinstated regardless of the subsequent significant alterations to the building and the somewhat blurred representations of the rococo façade. This stylistic restoration, as with the Castle, represents a building where the architect, through extensive historical research, has placed himself in the position of the original 'artist' à la Viollet-le-Duc.

Eggert discusses the notion of authenticity in terms of the replication of art and architecture and he argues against what he terms "forgery" (Eggert, 2009:81,82).

"Exact copying is impossible in any case. To the expert eye, artefacts will, as we have seen, sooner or later betray their period and method of production. As in the case of historical documents, changes in technology inevitably 'leave their mark on the way people make things'. The forger cannot make all the appropriate allowances" (Eggert, 2009:81).

As conservators we must therefore ensure that we do "not cater to illusions" and accept the importance of "preserving the historical witness of the building's original fabric" (Eggert, 2009:238).

Case 2: The Castle of Good Hope – Cape Town

The Castle, owing to its cultural significance as the only citadel in South Africa and the oldest colonial building, was one of the first small group of historical monuments declared on 6 April 1936 (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39; South Africa, 1936:529).

"The values of the protagonists for the preservation were unself-consciously colonial, and ensured that this symbol of Dutch colonisation and military power was preserved. The significance of the Castle to the white colonial establishment is self-evident; and it was, in 1936, to be the very first declared "historical monument" and has been the subject of an on-going series of restoration projects by Gabriël Fagan since 1969 (see Fagan, 2002: 20)" (Townsend, 2003:119,120).

The significance of the Castle as a national symbol is illustrated by its use in numerous forms, for example, the various military 'pips' on the shoulders of military

officers are adaptations of the Castle and the badge affixed to national monuments includes a representation of the main gateway.

Historical Background, Context and Significance

The Castle of Good Hope was constructed by the VOC at the behest of the Commissioner and then Governor Isbrand Goske from 1666. This, the second fortress, was “built under the supervision of the engineer Pieter Dombaer” (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39). The pentagon form of the fortress was a common type used by the Dutch in the colonies, with a “series of bastions projecting from the walls or courtines as its chief feature.” The construction of the Castle “proceeded very irregularly”; however, the fortification was sufficiently advanced for the garrison to occupy the fort in 1674. The Castle was completed in 1679 and became the official residence of the Commanders of the Cape from 1680.

“The Dutch school of military engineering had risen to prominence in the sixteenth century, their techniques of fortification were perfected by the famous mathematician and hydraulic engineer Simon Stevin (*vivebat* 1548 to 1620) whose seminal book *Stercktenbouwen* appeared in 1594. Pieter Dombaert, a military engineer who at first supervised the building of the Cape castle would have been familiar with Stevin’s work” (Gerneke, 1993:19).

The bastions were named after the various titles of Prince William of Orange, namely Oranje, Nassau, Buren, Leerdam and Kastenellenbogen (Gurneke, 1993:19). The first entrance, “facing the sea”, was bricked up and relocated in 1682 owing to spring tides and the “decorative gateway” was built in Dutch face brick and stone in its present location in 1683 (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

The gate way reflects the “arms of the Chambers of the Dutch East India Company – Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, Middelburg and Enkhuisen – and is flanked by the Company’s monogram and surmounted by the lion of Holland” (Fairbridge, 1922:48). Fransen states that this pediment was “almost certainly imported from the Netherlands” (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

“The gateway is the only surviving example at the Cape of the Dutch 17c Classicism of Van Campen, Post and Vingbooms” (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

The bell tower is very similar to the town gate found in Dordrecht and was probably added in 1682. The bell is inscribed with the date 1697. The thick dividing wall separating the inner and outer courts was constructed in 1691. Fransen states that the word *kat* refers to this wall and not the ceremonial balcony and door to the governor's residence (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

"Various official buildings were subsequently erected against this *kat*, those on the NW side facing the new entrance being of late 18th c. The outer walls, too, were lined inside with dwellings and offices, mostly utilitarian in character and partly 19th c in date. All the roofs were flat, tiled, and not thatched, in view of the fire hazard" (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

Governor Simon van der Stel (governor 1691 to 1699) was responsible for the construction of a number of the "fine houses" within the citadel, namely the residence of the Governor and the Secunde, the house of the Admiral of the Fleet and the Government House. He was also responsible for the completion in 1696 of the new hall in the Governor's House.

The present *Kat* balcony was constructed during the time of Governor van der Graaff (1785-1791) (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39). The little balcony from which "edicts were read and newly arrived officials presented to the burghers assembled in the square" has been attributed to Anton Anreith and Louis Thibault (Fairbridge, 1922:50, Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

"Its parapet has high relief work (a shield with the Lion of Holland, flanked by reclining babes and various trophies) almost certainly by Anton Anreith, who must have had his workshop in the Castle at that time" (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

The court to the rear of the Governor's and Secunde's house was originally "divided into two squares". The square behind the Governor's house was a garden surrounded by a "pillared arcade" facing onto "Thibault's fountain." This structure was probably completed in the late 1780's, as well as the alterations to the provost prison and the interior facade of the entrance gate (Fransen & Cook, 1980:39). A church and other buildings stood along "the dividing line between the two squares" (Fairbridge, 1922:51).



Figure 40: Contextual aerial photograph - Castle of Good Hope (Büttgens, 2010:xi).

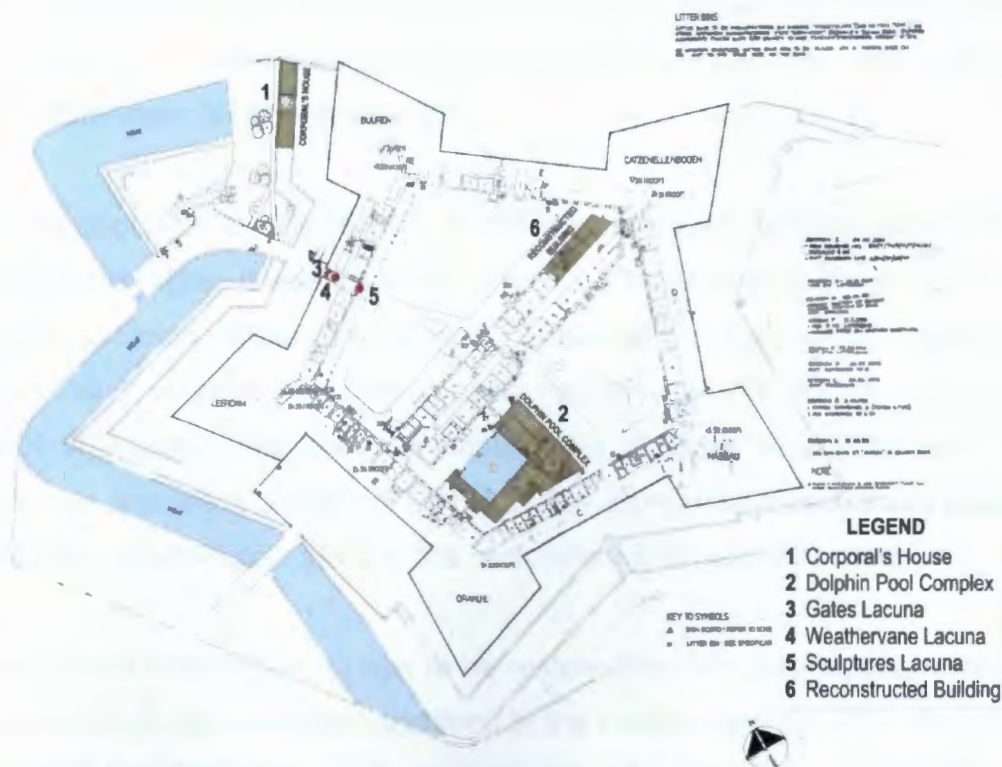


Figure 41: Layout Plan - Castle of Good Hope (Büttgens, 2010:52).

Various alterations and additions were made to the buildings within the citadel by the British during the second occupation. English period windows and doors, as well as a hipped roof were added to Blocks A (entrance wing between Leerdam and Buuren bastions), Block D (between Katzenellenbogen and Nassau bastions), and the cast iron colonnade inside the north-facing wall with the entrance. The arcaded building and Thibault's Dolphin Pool in the rear court were demolished during this occupation (Büttgens, 2010:53,54; Fransen & Cook, 1980:39).

The Client, the Ministry of Public Works and the Brief

The Ministry of Public Works, as a representative of the State, is part of what Foucault terms "multiple governmentalities" (as discussed in Chapter 3) and was instrumental in projecting the ideology and cultural history of the nationalist government (Foucault [1978] in Jessop, 2007:37) through the consolidation of *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 2001:xxxv). Hence the restoration of the Castle and reconstruction of several significant lacunae (described by Büttgens) was to ensure the projection of the idealist white settler heritage and thus a unified nationalist identity. The Castle was a key site in terms of the symbolism of white settler heritage and therefore provided a platform for various cultural and historical festivals (Witz, 2003) which formed part of the "indoctrination" by the nationalist state (Franco Frescura, interview, 30 September 2012).

Fagan was appointed by the Ministry in 1969 to undertake the restoration of the Castle of Good Hope. It was the most "ambitious" conservation project ever undertaken in South Africa, with the work completed in seven contract phases spanning thirty-two years and costing approximately R32 000 000 (today's value R560 000 000 based on an average inflation rate of 10 per cent) (Gurneke, 1993:20; Gwen Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012). The substantial value of this project supports the national imperative of this restoration and reconstruction.

The brief stated that the Castle was to be restored to its original appearance, with the removal of all later unsightly additions to the Castle building. The entrance gateway was to be reconstructed, restored and any necessary repairs and

refurbishments were to be undertaken by the architects.¹¹ This confirms a definite “cultural choice” conveyed by the client to the architect (Jokilehto, 1985:11). The intention to restore an iconic monument representing the origins of white settler heritage and a key site linked to cultural pageantry of the National Party “government-sponsored festival of 1952” (Witz, 2003:5,87).

“Although the Castle ‘restoration’ can also be regarded as a structural stabilization of the complex, the client (The Public Works Department) requested the recreation of certain parts of the Castle to its original state, in order ‘to allow the Castle to become (sic) into its own again’ “ (Büttgens, 2010:2).

Fagan’s Intervention and Methodology

Fagan states that the client permitted him to work according to his own methods and that there was no interference in the execution of the works. He confirms that the Department of Public Works “understood what I wanted to achieve and allowed me to work accordingly” (Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2010). The Ministry of Public Works did, however, control all decisions pertaining to the project, as reflected in Mr Green’s¹² discussion with the National Monuments Council.

“Dr Loedolff , Mr Fagan does not do anything here on his own. All decisions are referred to us and the Minister” (NMC Transcript of Meeting, 11 December 1986).

This is an interesting statement by Green, as it is clear from the literature review that Fagan worked according to his conservation methodology and was very persuasive in this regard as will be seen later. This was the second major restoration project undertaken by Fagan on behalf of the Ministry of Public Works, the first being the restoration and reconstruction of De Tuynhuys from 1967. Büttgens defines the restoration and reconstruction of the lacunae at the Castle as a “historical and stylistic hand-crafted manifestation of Fagan’s meticulous historical research” (Büttgens, 2010:1). This approach is common of Fagan and other members of the profession at this time, the only differences being their individual methodology, supported by comprehensive research in the case of Fagan or, in Visser’s case, a design-by-analogy focus (Townsend, 2003:92). As discussed in Chapter 3, this

¹¹ Original letter of appointment from the Department of Public Works 19/05/1969

¹² Green was the Director General – Department of Public Works Pretoria

stylistic method of conservation is in keeping with the theoretical approach of Viollet-Le-Duc.

“The *historical approach* requires that the shape, form and/or appearance be ‘historically correct’: this requires authentication primarily through documentary research of the particular case/object. The *stylistic approach* requires that the design, shape, form and/or appearance be consistent or appropriate: this requires exhaustive research of the general type so as to equip the designer with sufficient knowledge in order ‘to put oneself in the place of the original architect and try to imagine what he would do if he returned to earth’ (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854, quoted from Price et al, 1996:318)” (Townsend, 2003:17).

This conservative *stylistic* approach to conservation was preferred by many members of the Cape Institute of Architects’ Heritage Committee and was only challenged by the younger members, many of whom had studied abroad in Europe and the United Kingdom, from the mid 1980’s. The contemporary theoretical position of ‘conservation of the building as document’ then gradually became more accepted (Townsend, 2003:92).

Fagan argues that his approach to conservation is not determined by any particular or “preset philosophy, but rather a desire in a pragmatic way to stabilise and return the building to practical use” (Gabriël Fagan interview, 3 October 2012). Whatever Fagan may argue, this was not the case at the Castle as the buildings were not merely refurbished and returned to a functional state: substantial additions were removed, buildings long lost were reconstructed and lacunae reinstated. Büttgens argues that “for Fagan, the ‘restoration’ was to respect the original intent and design of the VOC Castle as a cultural artefact of the past.” This methodology, he argues, required not only historical research but also “creative and interpretive decisions to establish the unity and aesthetic completeness” (Buttgens, 2010:2).

“The multitude of decisions taken over the course of the project reveal various complex methodological and theoretical approaches, including respecting some of the various layers and histories of the Castle, but mainly comprising a historical and stylistic ‘restoration’ as might have been



Figure 42 : Main gates 'Alphen drawing' 1943 Figure 43: Main gate reconstructed, as per Japhna "after close scrutiny, Fagan believed the left Fort and the 'Alphen drawing'(Büttgens, 2010:92). gate seemed to indicate diagonal timber boards" (Büttgens, 2010:89).



Figure 44: Lady Anne Barnard's panorama – "internal view of the entrance gable, cupola and verandah (photo reprint of original, undated)" (Büttgens, 2010:93).

undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc. The methods reveal approaches spanning the breadth of the debates over the past 150 years” (Buttgens, 2010:2).

Fagan’s restoration and reconstruction of lacunae at the Castle included the rebuilding of the Corporal’s house outside the Castle walls on the existing foundations and the reconstruction of the building adjoining the Secundes House, in order to complete the *Kat* façade; as well as the recreation of various decorative elements such as the timber entrance gates (figure 43) and the reclining statues of Neptune (figure 45 & 46) and Mercury on the internal façade of the entrance. The most controversial reconstruction was the Dolphin Pool and the surrounding arcaded building. The restoration discarded most of the English period alterations from Block A, C and D and hypothetically recreated a very large complex (Buttgens, 2010:53, 63, 64). Fagan’s reason for this intervention was that the English alterations “cut into and disrupted the symmetry of the 17th century Dutch façade” (Fagan, quoted in Büttgens, 2010:53). The contemporary building-as-document methodology not only supports the retention of later additions as historical layers of the artefact but argues that such demolition and reconstruction results in falsification.

“Gwen Fagan says the British changed the buildings without any regard for the existing aesthetics and had unsympathetically altered much of the Castle” (Büttgens, 2010:59).

This statement by Gwen Fagan indicates a personal preference which supported the Dutch/VOC aesthetics and resulted in a conscious decision to remove the British alterations, which as discussed earlier, is a “cultural choice” (Jokilehto,1985:11). The Fagans did, however, retain the façade of the Kapteins House, which forms part of Block B. The “elegant large British sash windows” and the “exposed brick quoining” were left unaltered. Another example of “layered restoration” is found in Block E, where the British and VOC details are retained. These are the only buildings where both legacies are acknowledged and therefore the interpretation is authentic (Büttgens, 2010:60,61). In the main Fagan pursued a restoration method which ensured a “unity of style.” Therefore, the “removal of many British period elements” which he viewed as “undermining the true value of the Castle” was an effort to restore the authentic “unity of the creative act of the



Figure 45: Internal gable façade, late 19th century
(source: Cape Archive ref M814)
(Büttgens, 2010:98).



Figure 46: Reconstructed figures of Neptune and Mercury, as well as the coat of arms (Büttgens, 2010:98).



Figure 47: Restored cupola, weather vane and new gates (Büttgens, 2010:95).



Figure 48: Weather vane detail "note similarity to St Paul's" (Büttgens, 2010:95).

VOC" (Büttgens,2010:54). This is contrary to articles 7, 9 and 11 of the 1964 Venice Charter, as well as articles 3, 5, 6,7, 8, 13 and 14 of the 1979 Burra Charter.

The Burra Charter¹³, a child of the Venice Charter, requires that conservation be based on respect for the "existing fabric, cultural significance without 'unwarranted emphasis' on particular historical eras and that restoration must be based on "respect for all the physical, documentary and other evidence and stops at the point where conjecture begins" (ICOMOS, Australia, 1979).

"The meaning and values of authenticity for Fagan, as they were for the restorers of the nineteenth century, are embedded in the *imagined* idea of the historical building and not in the historical fabric" (Büttgens, 2010:54).

Fagan's projects primarily result in a stylistically accurate restoration which is based on a particular historical era, with subsequent additions removed and the majority of his work has focused on the restoration of the Cape Dutch architecture. His ultimate goal in the case of the Castle was to achieve an "appearance of cohesion" and "unity of style" (Fagan, 2001:20). Fagan's discussion on the restoration of the Castle, published in the *ArchitectureSA*, echoes similar phrases used by Viollet-le-Duc. He refers to the values inherent in buildings and the scientific research methods required in order to execute an "informed" restoration.

"Through the continuous thread of our communal culture, we can identify ourselves with the previous generations and, by better understanding of them, re-affirm our own values. For a building to transmit these values, however, it must be completely genuine and credible. [...] The building must be regarded as a valuable document, which must not be falsified, [and]additions and changes should be clearly visible and not 'antiqued'. In this way the sequence of events is legible and the layering clearly visible. The restorer should be informed by thorough historical research and detailed archaeological examination of all parts of the building. As personal whims should play no role, broad principles are required" (Fagan, 2001:20).

¹³ The Burra Charter, first published in 1979, has been amended several times, most recently in 1999



Figure 49: Dolphin Pool Complex, “Interior: Roof Beams are similar to original Dutch beams in the Castle; note plaster pediment over the door opening at rear” (Büttgens,2010:86).



Figure 50: Dolphin Pool Complex, “New meets ‘old’, stainless steel door frames around brick piers (Büttgens,2010:86).

Fagan does, however, contradict himself as the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool and the surrounding buildings are quite clearly a new building inserted into the ancient citadel. His reference to the 'building as a document' and 'values' implies a knowledge of Riegl and Boito's principles and contemporary conservation methodology, and yet when assessing his projects he does not follow this method, and very little attempt was made to ensure that these buildings were visually interpreted as a contemporary intervention.

"There is one element which suggests newness: these are the delicate stainless steel window and door frames carefully inserted into the internal edge of the five arched brick columns. The architectural concept was, with frameless appearing sheets of plate glass from the pool area, to integrate the pool with the function room, and vice versa: a very modern idea. Fagan wanted to indicate that these could have been open stables and therefore a 'new' idea inserted into an 'old' building. The introduction of this obviously 'new' element into the 'reconstruction' causes confusion to the viewer by making some parts new and attempting to emphasise that the rest is old" (Büttgens, 2010:83).

This intervention results in an ambiguity that first results in "confusion" and second an indication from Fagan's argument that he intended the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool to be viewed as "old" and therefore 'authentic' – which is not possible (figures 49 & 50). Büttgens argues further that Fagan's "response to lacunae of significant old Cape Dutch buildings, including the Castle, has been the most controversial aspect of his conservation practice" (Büttgens, 2010:2). It can be argued that through the "filling of lacunae", Fagan was intent on recreating the symbolic meaning of the Castle as a Dutch citadel. The restoration and reconstruction, does not, however, comply with article 18 of the Burra Charter (1979) which states that a reconstruction "is limited to the completion of the depleted entity and should not constitute the majority of the fabric of a place" (ICOMOS, Australia, 1979).



Figure 51: Dolphin Pool Complex, “Pier coping : copy of original artefact found on site” (Büttgens, 2010:84).



Figure 52: Dolphin Pool Complex, “front door detail with pilasters and pediment” (Büttgens, 2010:87).



Figure 53: Dolphin Pool Complex, “view over new pool towards the Governor’s Residence” (Büttgens, 2010:87).

“The historical evidence of lacunae for the Castle, however, was minimal, with only distant or blurred drawings or partial photographs and partial remnant foundations. There was no substantial or detailed documentation of any of the missing parts. Fagan, after prolonged periods of grappling with how to respond, re-created and re-instated the lacunae as he thought was the most obvious, in his own words, ‘common sense’ solutions using stylistic and design-by-analogy methods where no documentary evidence existed” (Büttgens, 2010:4).

The reconstruction of lacunae and restoration work undertaken at the Castle by Fagan resulted in the recreation of the citadel according to his considered vision of what the fort would have resembled during VOC rule. This vision is partly defined by his opinion that “these buildings are significant artefacts and represent examples of ‘good buildings’ of the Dutch /VOC era” (Gabriël Fagan interview, 3 October 2012). Fagan therefore placed himself in the position of the original architect and, based on limited information, proceeded to re-create the VOC citadel in an idealised stylistic manner.

The National Monuments Council

The Castle is an historical monument and therefore any building alterations, restorations or reconstructions required a permit.

“...no person may destroy, damage, excavate or alter [.....] any monument except under the authority of, and in accordance with, a permit issued by the National Monuments Council” (South Africa, 1969:15).

The National Monuments Council were satisfied with the restoration work undertaken at the Castle until the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool and surrounding arcaded building (figures 54 & 55) was proposed by the Fagan to the Department of Public Works (NMC letter to Fagan, 14 November 1986). However, the archaeological work, restoration and reconstruction of lacunae had become a point of contention between the project team and the National Monuments Council from 1985. Whilst stylistic conservation methods were supported by the architectural profession in South Africa, this was not the case with the archaeologists.

At the Castle it was this “fundamental difference in approach” which resulted in the SA Museum’s archaeologist, Gabeba Abrahams, leaving the site. Prof van der Merwe, head of the Department of Archaeology at UCT, corresponded with the NMC expressing his concern that the “excavations were being undertaken inside the Castle by Mrs G Fagan” (Büttgens, 2010:75, NMC, letter to Fagan, 14 November 1986). The National Monuments Council informed Fagan “that all excavation work must immediately be terminated” (NMC, Letter to Fagan, 14 November 1986).

The Fagans argue that the archaeologist, Gabeba Abrahams, “did not use the correct methods in excavating the site” and that this method destroyed “architectural artefacts” (Büttgens, 2010:74).

“She just kept digging down in squares even though I told her to excavate the walls of the Dolphin Pool. There was a white line that she kept on excavating – it was the plaster line of the pool – by this time the old clay bricks had disintegrated and merged with the clay surrounding the pool (one could not distinguish between brick and infill) “ (Gabriël Fagan interview, 3 October 2012)

Gwen Fagan, who is not an archaeologist, continued with the excavations and kept a “log of the artefacts found in the pool”. These notes reflect sketches of pier copings and a “section of the plastered balustrade wall” (Büttgens, 2010:75).

“Martin Hall argues Fagan wanted the Castle to only convey a specific period and this required the removal of layers which were not of this period. This, Hall states, is unacceptable in archaeology. The theoretical idea of re-establishing the Castle to an imagined original shape and form is foreign to archaeology as all stages of the complex’s evolution contribute to its authenticity” (Büttgens, 2010:75).

The National Monuments Council files show that the whilst Gwen Fagan had met with the chairman of the Council, Judge de Kock, and the officials, Dr Hey, Hofmeyr, Basset and Rudner in 1982 to discuss the archaeological requirements of the site, no building plans were submitted to the Council’s Plans Committee for approval. The correspondence dated 14 November 1986 and the transcript of the special meeting of 11 December 1986 reflect that a lack of documentation and

archaeological supervision at the Castle had become a point of contention with the National Monuments Council. A site inspection was arranged for 21 August 1986 and preliminary drawings of the Dolphin Pool complex were handed to the NMC. Fagan was subsequently informed by the Director, Dr Loedolff (who succeeded Dr Hey), that the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool and the surrounding buildings would not be supported by the Council. The fact that the excavations continued on site without an archaeologist and the required building plans illustrates that the Ministry of Public Works was not particularly concerned with the requirements of the National Monuments Act and the protestations of the NMC.

“This matter and the plans were referred to the meeting of the Council in October. While the Council was satisfied with the restoration work, especially Block B, which incorporates the oldest existing church in the country, it was decided that there was no justification for the reconstruction around the Dolphin Pool of a building that will cut out the view of the oldest and most important part of the Castle and that this work will not be approved in terms of the Act. It is, however, suggested that the excavated foundations should form part of the courtyard layout” (NMC, letter to Fagan, 14 November 1986).

Fagan’s correspondence to the NMC early in December 1986 reflects a request for an urgent meeting with the National Monuments Council.

“Judge de Kock has requested, as a matter of urgency, that three architects (Dirk, John and I) prepare a concise motivation for the reconstruction of the Block G for submission to the eleven members of the National Monuments Council” ¹⁴(NMC, Letter from Fagan, 8 December 1986).

A special meeting was therefore scheduled for 11 December 1986 to discuss the Council decision with all the relevant parties present. Fagan submitted a brief motivation for the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool and the surrounding buildings to the NMC on 8 December 1986. This motivation was endorsed by letters of support from John Rennie, then a National Monuments Council member and Dirk Visser (NMC, Letter from Fagan, 8 December 1986).

“Having read architect Gabriël Fagan’s brief history and motivation as titled above I wish to add my comments in support of the proposed re-construction

¹⁴ Gabriël Fagan Letter to the National Monuments Council, 8 December 1986, translated from Afrikaans by the author. The Dirk and John referred to are Dirk Visser, who often advised the NMC, and John Rennie, who was then a member of the NMC’s Council.

of the Dolphin pool and surrounding buildings [...] In my opinion the National Monuments Council need have no fears regarding the project or doubts about the wisdom of decisions being taken as the reconstruction of the pool and buildings continues. I wish to urge that he be given every support possible to implement this important work without delay" (NMC, Letter from Rennie, 8 December 1986).

It is not surprising that Dirk Visser supported the reconstruction as he and Fagan formed part of the "reconstructionist lobby" within the Cape Institute of Architects. However, what is surprising is the endorsement by Rennie who had completed a post-graduate diploma at the University of York in 1974. He was therefore well versed in the contemporary conservation debates and methodology and indeed is generally recognised as an architect who is disinclined to support hypothetical reconstructions.

The transcript of the special meeting reflects a lengthy debate regarding the restoration and reconstruction work undertaken over the previous sixteen years.

"In March 1985 it was reported at this Plans Committee meeting that work is being undertaken at the Castle and the NMC has not received any building plans or been provided with the opportunity to inspect the work on site. A letter was therefore sent to the regional representative of the owner requesting that a permit application be submitted. The NMC then wrote to the Department of Public Works in August of this year and informed them that the NMC had not granted approval for the work at the Castle [...] The regional committee then conveyed their dissatisfaction to the Council and requested that this be conveyed to the Department of Public Works"¹⁵ (NMC Transcript of meeting, 11 December 1986).

The Department of Public Works representative, Mr Green¹⁶, confirmed that all decisions pertaining to the restoration and reconstruction had been discussed with the Department and the Minister. The reconstruction was therefore fully supported by the Ministry (NMC, Transcript of meeting, 11 December 1986). Fagan

¹⁵ National Monuments Council Special Plans Committee meeting transcript 11 December 1986 translated from Afrikaans by the author.

¹⁶ Green was the Director General – Department of Public Works Pretoria

was very persuasive in his argument in favour of the reconstruction of the lacunae. He was convinced that the reconstruction of this complex of buildings would ensure the complete ensemble of the Castle as a citadel. In his submission to the National Monuments Council, Fagan presented the committee with three options: “backfilling after recording the excavation, re-construct the pool only (‘which would make scant architectural sense without its balustrade and colonnade’) or a recreation of the whole complex” (Büttgens, 2010:74). Fagan was therefore able to convince the NMC panel that his vision was indeed correct.

Similarly, his argument for the acquisition of additional land and structures by the State after his appointment to do more work at the Diaz Museum Complex during the 1990’s resulted in the declaration by the NMC of the “Bartholomeu Dias Museum, Dias Statue, the nature garden, the Padrao and Malay graves, the Post Office Tree, the Shell Museum, the Maritime Museum, the reconstructed granary, the fountain, the Postkeeper’s cottage and houses at Munrohoek in Mossel Bay, on 6 June 1997” (Scurr, 2011:74). Indeed, Fagan’s influence was unique.

The submission was referred by Dr Loedolff to the Plans Committee for consideration and the reconstruction was approved (NMC, Transcript of meeting, 11 December 1986). The subsequent decision by the NMC was therefore a complete reversal of their position and their argument that the reconstruction would be regarded as inauthentic and therefore a falsification (NMC letter to Fagan, 14 November 1986; Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012). As chair of the NMC, Dr Loedolff’s endorsement of Fagan’s argument in favour of reconstruction ensured approval of the submission.



Figure 54: Dolphin Pool Complex “front pool courtyard view” (Büttgens, 2010:84).



Figure 55: Dolphin Pool Complex “front pool courtyard view, with rear view onto original Governor's Residence” (Büttgens, 2010:84).

Conclusion

Büttgens concludes that the intervention at the Castle shows “that Fagan continued the theories of Viollet -le-Duc and other nineteenth century ‘restoration’ interventionist approaches a century later without acknowledging the several intervening paradigm shifts in conservation theory and practice” (Büttgens, 2010:99). This intent was the pursuit of the “original”. Authenticity was sought through the stylistic recreation of the building and not the existing fabric.

“From this point of view authenticity can never be grasped because the real thing is always at one remove, always mediated by a history of reception, cultural interpretation or cultural translation” (Eggert, 2009:28).

Fagan’s cultural and historical interpretation of the Castle and the reconstruction of the lacunae has resulted in a restoration that does not comply with the conservation theories of Boito, Giovannoni, Brandi and the charters from the Athens (1931), Venice (1964) to Burra (1979) Charters, or even with the Nara Document on Authenticity. All of the above support the article 9 of the Venice Charter which states:

“The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument” (ICOMOS, 1964).

This is supported by the general principles of the Athens Charter of 1931 which states that:

“When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period” (ICOMOS, 1931).

Fagan argues that a contemporary intervention is only applicable or suitable when restoring a less significant building or object. The “rarity” of the artefact determines

the intervention and method regardless of conservation charters and texts (Scurr, 2011:123,124). Fagan's argument that the "rarity" of the building dictates the method of conservation and therefore this is the primary factor justifying his stylistic reconstruction and restoration of the building and overrules alternatives presented by others. His methodology is therefore clear in terms of the creation or rather re-creation of an idealized expression of the artefact.

"My intention was to return the buildings to their best state" (Gabriël Fagan, interview, 3 October 2012).

The reconstruction and restoration of the VOC citadel recreated one of the key symbols of the nationalist state, thereby reinforcing the notion of white settler heritage and what Joireman terms the "politics of belonging" as discussed in the previous chapter (Joireman, 2003:12). This "imagined political community" was defined by the notion of a "joint communion" of fellow members through symbolic cultural and historical rhetoric (Anderson, 1991:6). It is clear too that the State acted as unifier, director and authorised enforcer in terms of a created nation defined by a history of ideological and mythological constructs (Nora,2001:xxxv). Meaning is derived from "primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit must be congruent" (Gellner, 1983:1).

The Castle of Good Hope was of such importance to the Nationalist government that the parliament passed the Castle Management Act of 1993 at the behest of the State President's Office on the 28 January 1994, before the first democratic elections on 26 April 1994. The objects of the Act are:

"To establish the Castle Control Board for the purpose of exercising certain powers and performing certain functions and duties in respect of the land and buildings comprising the Castle; to provide for the purchase of the Castle by the Board; to provide for the employment of the staff by the Board; and to provide for matters connected herewith"(South Africa, 1993).

The sole intention of the Act was the transfer of the Castle and its surrounding land to the Castle Control Board so as to ensure that the new government would not, or could not, 'damage' it or take control of this national 'white symbol'. This act was subsequently repealed on 22 February 2008 and the Castle transferred to the

National Heritage Council in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act of 1998 (South Africa, 2008). Similar action was taken by the state with the transfer of ownership of Groot Constantia to a Section 21 Company on 10 February 1993 (Leibman, 2012:96) and the various declarations of national monuments in 1993 as discussed later.

“The fear of loss of parts of Groot Constantia to development was one of the overriding factors that motivated the transfer of ownership of Groot Constantia” (Leibman, 2012:96).

The state, assisted by Fagan, therefore reinstated the Castle as a Dutch/VOC citadel which represented white nationalist settler history. This “appropriation, and extensive ‘restoration’ of the Castle as a symbol of its legitimacy was never questioned” (Büttgens, 2010:27).

Case 3: The Graaff-Reinet Drostdy

The reconstruction of the Drostdy in Graaff-Reinet was undertaken by Dirk Visser from 1976 who continued the methodology of Eaton who had restored Reinet House at the other end of Parsonage Street two decades earlier.

Historical Background, Context and Significance

The district and village of *Graaffe-Rijnet* (Graaff-Reinet) was established in 1786 and named after Governor van der Graaffe and his wife, Cornelia Rijnet, (Nunn, 2008:14). Woeke, a retired burgher from Stellenbosch, had been instructed by the Council of Policy to select a suitable site for the town and establish a Drostdy. Dirk Coetzee, who occupied two farms within the “plain in the horse shoe of the Zondags River”, was compensated for the buildings on the farm and provided with “land free of rent in the present Pearston district.” Woeke appointed a “College of Heemraden” and set about organising a “system of militia” to defend the colonists (Nunn, 2008:15) and established a Drostdy in the existing farm house. The first few decades of governance in the district were fraught with conflict between the burghers, maladministration and battles with the Xhosas (Nunn, 2008:16-20). The first British occupation in 1795 attempted to establish law and order. However, this was not successful (Wyndham-Smith, 1976:28, 29).

The second British occupation from 1806 ensured that “law and order prevailed and the town developed under the administration of the two Stockenströms, Andries Senior (1804 to 1811) and Junior (1815 to 1827)” (Minnaar, 1987:3). However, the town prospered and by 1812 the “principal street was lined with a row of orange and lemon trees” and the number of houses had increased to seventy-four. The new Drostdy designed by Louis Michel Thibault had been completed in 1806. The construction of this new Drostdy was due to the “1804 sanction” delivered by Commissioner-General de Mist for the construction of “new Drostdy houses at Graaff-Reinet, Tulbagh and Uitenhage” (Lewcock, 1963:55). The original design for the Graaff-Reinet Drostdy reflects “low windows with plaster swags to relieve the bare wall above them.” The front and side gables “were to have been flattened three-dimensional reliefs (sic) of a semicircle (presumably representing a dome) rising from a stepped drum and fronted by a classical pediment” (Lewcock, 1963:55). The building work was not supervised by Thibault and therefore differs significantly from the original drawings (Minnaar, 1987:147).

“....the ‘dome’ design degenerated into a flat stepped gable with a semicircular top, edged by a crude moulding and liberally decorated with execrable plaster stars, while at the same time standard high sash windows of eighteenth century type were substituted for those in the drawing [.....] The fine classical plaster door surround was also altered in execution to a more traditional, and ungainly, shallow cornice design with teak consoles rising from wide jambs” (Lewcock, 1963:56).

The “subtle modulation of surfaces” by Thibault was absent from the completed building (figures 56 & 57). The Drostdy was flanked by two rectangular buildings constructed as stables, stores and carriage-houses (Lewcock, 1963:56).

The first municipal elections were held in September 1845 which resulted in the election of a board of commissioners with limited powers. This transfer of power resulted in the sale of a number of government properties and land in the town (Minnaar, 1987:13,145).

One of these, the Drostdy, was sold to J.F. Ziervogel in 1847, who subdivided the land and sold the building to D.S. Schulz in 1873. Henry Conrad Kromm purchased

the property from Schulz in 1878 and converted the building into a hotel. The building then became known as Kromm's Drostdy Hotel. The building was substantially altered towards the end of the nineteenth century, with a second floor and Victorianised with a wrap-around Regency style balcony (figure 59). The building continued to be used as a hotel until it was purchased by Historical Homes of South Africa and the Oude Meester Group in September 1974 (Minnaar, 1987:147).

The residents of Graaff-Reinet had realised by the 1920's that the economic growth of the town had reached its peak and therefore sought other alternatives as a source of revenue. The Graaff-Reinet Publicity Association was formed at the behest of the Mayor Urquhart on 4 June 1926, the principle focus of the association being the promotion of historical sights and tourism (Minnaar, 1987:139). However, the first properties to be restored sometime earlier were Reinet House and the old Dutch Reformed Church parsonage (built 1808 to 1812), which was occupied by Reverends J.J. Kitcherer, A.J. Schulz, A. Faure and the now famous Andrew Murray (senior). Norman Eaton, with the assistance of a provincial grant, proceeded with the restoration of Reinet House from 1952 to 1956 which has been discussed above (Minnaar, 1987: 142, 143).

The Client, Dr Anton Rupert

Anton Rupert (refer to the Glossary) was born in Graaff-Reinet in 1916. He went on to complete a Masters in chemistry at the University of Pretoria and set up Industrial Investments (1943), Distillers Corporation (1945) and the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation (Esterhuyse, 1986:14). As a successful businessman and philanthropist, Rupert's concern for the neglect of South Africa's historical built environment, particularly homes built in the Cape Dutch style, had led to the establishment of Historical Homes of South Africa. This company listed in terms of the Companies Act after a public appeal by Rupert in 1965 (Dommissie, 2005:158). The restoration of Reinet House was the catalyst for numerous restorations, funded by Rupert.



Figure 56: WJ Burchell's engraving of the Drostdy (1812) (UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC1311)



Figure 57: The Drostdy Graaff Reinet 1885 (UCT Manuscripts and Archives, BC1311)

The Dutch Reformed Mission Church (*Oefeningshuis*) in Church Street was purchased by Rupert in 1965, restored and handed over to the town in 1966. This building was subsequently converted into a museum and is now the Hester Rupert Art Museum.

“The museum was officially opened by the State President, C.R. Swart, on 26 July 1966 and declared a national monument on 4 October 1968” (Minnaar, 1987:145).

It is both interesting and revealing that the State President should travel to a small isolated town in the Karoo for such an event. This represents first, the nature of the relationship between Rupert and the President (or the nationalist establishment, or both) and second, the importance of Cape Dutch architecture to the state (Murray et al, 2007:3).

Rupert and the Historic Homes of South Africa Ltd then turned their attention to a “row of neglected cottages owned by Coloureds”. These cottages are located behind the Drostdy and were constructed after Zietvogel had purchased the land from the government in 1847.

“These had come about when in 1847, in accordance with the policy of government to sell all official buildings, the Drostdy as the official residence of the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet was offered for sale. Attached to the Drostdy was a large piece of land comprising seven erven; the whole stand was sold by public auction in 1847” (Minnaar, 1987:145).

Captain Charles Lennox Stretch, who was a government land surveyor, purchased the erven from Zietvogel on 15 March 1855. Stretch then divided the erven into allotments and sold them to “different buyers, several of whom were Coloured labourers.” These houses faced onto a narrow avenue which “led from Bourke Street to Church Street through the gardens of the Drostdy.” The subdivision of the allotments resulted in this avenue becoming a cul de sac which was later named Stretch’s Court by Rupert (Minnaar, 1987:145). Historic Homes proceeded to purchase a number of these cottages from 1966 onwards and in July 1969 restoration work commenced.

“On 24 September 1970 this complex of ten restored cottages, costing R62 000 and named Drostdyhof , with the cul de sac renamed Stretch's Court, was officially opened by the prime minister, B.J. Vorster. On the same day the prime minister opened another restored building, the John Rupert Art Gallery in Parsonage Street” (Minnaar, 1987:147).

Again, as noted earlier, it is remarkable that another head of state should attend such an event at the behest of Rupert. This reinforces the earlier argument of Rupert's relationship with the most senior members of the Nationalist state, and the importance of this particular architectural heritage to the national identity.

The Oude Meester Group and Historic Homes jointly then proceeded with the reconstruction of the Drostdy from 1975, under the supervision of Dirk Visser. Once the reconstruction of the Drostdy was complete, Rupert and Historic Homes focused their attention on Parsonage Street, with the intention of planning the restoration of the entire precinct. This process had already started in 1963 when the Simon van der Stel Foundation purchased and restored number 2 Parsonage Street in 1963. Another acquisition by the Foundation was the Residency, “a well preserved model of the early 19th century H-shaped house.” This building was declared a national monument on 8 June 1962 (Minnaar, 1987:147).

Rupert, through Historic Homes, continued to restore heritage buildings in Graaff-Reinet. His intention was to restore or assist in the restoration of the five hundred Cape Dutch and Karoo style houses in the town (Rupert, 1975:13).

“In Graaff-Reinet there are approximately 500 houses of the symmetrical Karoo style architecture [...] Certain of these houses have been restored and the aim is to ultimately ensure that the majority, if not all, are restored in the future” (Rupert, 1975:13)¹⁷.

The heritage of Graaff Reinet was of such great importance to the residents that in an effort to “protect the historical heritage” of the town, the Graaff Reinet Heritage Society was formed in November 1975. This society was responsible for halting

¹⁷ Translated from Afrikaans by the author researcher?. There could be confusion with Rupert

many demolitions and ensured that conservation advice was provided for numerous restorations.

Visser's Intervention and Methodology

The Oude Meester Group and Historic Homes appointed Dirk Visser to undertake the reconstruction of the Drostdy in 1974. The building had been substantially altered, including the addition of a second floor in the late 1800's and apparently very little of the original building remained (Minnaar, 1987:147; ISAA, 1979:42). The inherent symbolism of Cape Dutch architecture in terms of a display of wealth and culture must be considered: in the case of the Drostdy the form and typology symbolised the authority of the VOC.

The Pastorie (parsonage) and the Drostdy are both sited in the historic centre of Graaff-Reinet, at the end of Parsonage Street, facing each other and 200m apart. These are two of the principal buildings in the town and therefore form an important part of the townscape and historic fabric. For this reason Visser and Rupert agreed that in order to restore the streetscape, the Drostdy would be reconstructed in its original form (ISAA, 1979:42).

“Over the period of a century the Drostdy in Graaff-Reinet had been altered to the extent that in 1974 the architects reported that little remained of the original building. The meticulous survey of the architects, indicating the possibility of restoring the building, the decision of the owners to proceed and finally the execution of the work are meritorious in themselves” (ISAA, 1979:42).

Very little has been written by Visser and his files are no longer at his office Munnik Visser Architects. Information has therefore been obtained from various sources, previous projects and the drawings of the Drostdy to interpret his restoration method and intentions.

“The problem is what do you restore to? How do you decide? Very often you can't make that decision until you have a builder on site digging. It is a tricky issue and every time you enter that debate you come up with a different answer” (Visser as transcribed by Haughton & Malan, 2003:33).

Visser viewed the heritage context in Parsonage Street as a very valuable “piece of early urban design” and for this reason reconstructed the Drostdy through the

interpretation of Thibault's drawings, photographs and Eaton's details of Reinet House. He also utilised his extensive knowledge of Cape Dutch architecture in his process of 'design-by-analogy' (Haughton & Malan, 2003:33).

"But if you take Parsonage Street as a piece of early urban design with Reinet House (Pastorie) at the one end and the Drostdy at the other – the street is closed in. Then you may decide to take the Drostdy back to its old form – not restoring the building as much as restoring the street. As a result you see it – Government sitting firmly on the ground, flat and straight out. At the other end you've got the spiritual authority (of the Pastorie) – elevated, reaching the heavens. Very interesting to compare those two houses" (Visser as transcribed Haughton & Malan, 2003:33).

Visser clearly expressed his intentions in restoring the Drostdy as the missing part of the historical context. In reinstating the Drostdy he attempted to recreate the dialogue between the two buildings in terms of symbolism and urban space.

The buildings do not obviously represent "government" and "spiritual authority" as they do not function in that manner at present. The buildings are substantially removed from each other and therefore such a spatial connection over 200 metres is somewhat implausible. Therefore this notion of a symbolic spatial connection is more of a fanciful poetic image rather than an urban reality. But that clearly was Visser's (and, we presume, Rupert's) intention.

Visser completed an exhaustive analysis of the building before and during the demolition, as well as historical research pertaining to the detailing of the facades and gables. He refers to his method as "reading the structure of a building like a book", which would imply (as with the case of Fagan) an understanding of the texts of Boito and others. However, this particular project was a complete reconstruction. He argues that when working with Cape vernacular architecture it is vital to have a thorough knowledge of the construction methods and styles (Visser as transcribed Haughton & Malan, 2003:32).



Figure 58: The Drostdy Graaff Reinet [date unknown] – “victorianized” with a verandah and corrugated iron roof (UCT Manuscripts and Archives, BC1311)



Figure 59: The Drostdy Graaff Reinet 1890 – extensively altered into a double storey structure with a wrap-around Regency style verandah (UCT Manuscripts and Archives, BC1311)

Visser demolished the late 19th century upper floor of the Drostdy building as well as all additions and alterations made to the rear of the building. The plan was returned to its original U-shaped form and the interior spaces reconstituted as per the original layout, with reference to historical research and the remaining building fabric exposed during exploration work on site.

“If one examines the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet and compares it to Thibault’s original intervention [...] one can see what concessions were made to the prevailing stylistics [...] The original façade is smooth and continuous with repetitive square windows punched into its surface. These have been replaced by the oblong-pane sash windows which typify the period. The central portico is styled on the Pantheon, the ubiquitous archetype which can be traced to the popularity of Piranesi and the imageries of ruined antiquity [...] It can be readily understood that any distant craftsman with only the local manufacturer of doors and his own sensibilities of gable treatment at his disposal would have interpreted Thibault’s design to his own satisfaction (Fisher & Holm, 1989:289).

Visser argued that his conservation approach was informed by the significance of the building as an “artefact.” His reconstruction of the Drostdy was supported by the fact that the building was substantially altered and degraded (Visser as transcribed Haughton & Malan, 2003:33). Visser’s historical research resulted in the Drostdy gable’s being reconstructed as per documentation and photos dating back to 1885. A replica of the coat of arms was reinstated on the Drostdy façade.

Visser, whilst reconstructing the Drostdy, was also appointed to undertake minor restorations to Reinet House by Historic Homes and he advised numerous residents regarding restoration and maintenance of their properties (David Visser, interviewed, 17 October 2012).



Figure 60 : The Drostdy entrance detail (Munnik Visser, 2012)



Figure 61 : The Drostdy street façade after the reconstruction (Munnik Visser, 2012)



Figure 62 : The Drostdy rear courtyard after the reconstruction (Munnik Visser, 2012)

There are no NMC records pertaining to the Drostdy. This could be due to the fact that the National Monuments Act was only amended to protect buildings over fifty years of age in 1986 and therefore its restoration was done without any statutory control.

The interior spatial layout of the two wings was altered so as to allow for ablutions and other service spaces. The front façade was reconstructed as an exact replica of what was believed to have been originally built in 1806. Therefore the craftsmen's interpretation of Thibault's design was reinstated by Visser.

Conclusion

The Drostdy, as with the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool and surrounding buildings, is a *stylistic* recreation and it cannot be deemed to be authentic. It is, however, an exceptional stylistic reconstruction which reinstates the idea of the streetscape of the historic centre of Graaff-Reinet. This reconstruction of the building does not return Parsonage Street to its ideal form prior to 1890, as the Drostdy is located in Murray Street and is therefore too far removed from Reinet House.

Dirk Visser received a merit award from the ISAA in 1979 for the reconstruction of the Drostdy (ISAA, 1979:42). The profession therefore clearly regarded the stylistic reconstruction as commendable and therefore endorsed the stylistic restoration methodology. This recreation of the Graaff-Reinet townscape is what Foucault refers to as an "absolutely perfect other place" (Foucault, 1986:27).

Both Visser and Fagan have approached the matter of reconstructing radically transformed buildings in a self-conscious manner: a method which is clearly comparable to Viollet-le-Duc and his notion of "first for the sake of history and above all for the sake of art" (Eggert, 2009:55).

"Similarly, he had no hesitation in reconstructing buildings partly in ruins. (His best known are Pierrefonds and Carcassonne). The only proviso was that the architect 'should as far as possible replace [reuse] these old remains even if

injured: this will furnish a guarantee for the sincerity and exactitude of his investigations'" (Viollet-le-Duc, quoted from Eggert, 2009:54).

The Drostdy was declared a national monument on 26 June 1981 (Minnnaar, 1987:147). This declaration, as with other such cases, provides interesting insight into what the NMC (the leading state organ responsible for conservation) viewed as authentic and therefore worthy of formal protection. The conservation of this town, whilst initiated by Rupert, was certainly endorsed by the National Monuments Council as a total of 237 declarations are listed in the national inventory (SAHRA,2012). This reflects a concerted effort on the part of the state (through the NMC), the residents of Graaff-Reinet and Rupert to protect a substantial number of Cape Dutch buildings within the town. The NMC clearly supported this form of 'restoration', which was contrary to all contemporary conservation charters (from Venice Charter, 1964) and as an instrument of the state supported the protection and promotion of white settler heritage.

Conservation in the South African Context

The conservation methodology utilised by the architectural profession during the apartheid era has been ascribed to the level of isolation of South Africa. Büttgens cites this as a reason for the stylistic restoration of significant Cape Dutch buildings and therefore implies that the profession did not have access to, for instance, the Venice Charter (of 1964) or other publications.

"The twenty-five year political isolation of South Africa between the 1960s and early 1990's ensured that the exponential progress in conservation theories and methodologies experienced internationally around the 1980s was little known locally. The conservation norm was only questioned in the late 1980's and changes in theoretical positions and methodology only really became apparent in the late 1990s"

(Büttgens, 2010:5)

This state of isolation is also discussed by Townsend when considering the debates within the Cape Institute of Architects and the affiliated Heritage Committee. Many of these architects were active members of the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa and the Simon van der Stel Foundation.

“South Africa had, since the early 1960s, gradually and increasingly been cut off from all cultural, academic, scientific and other forms of interaction with other countries; and, as a result of this cultural isolation, conservation theory did not develop or keep up with international trends *and* the white Afrikaner establishment increasingly felt obliged to emphasise its heroic past, and thus increasingly demanded *historical and/or stylistic restorations*, in particular of buildings showing Dutch stylistic characteristics” (Townsend, 2003:92).

It is possible to explore the probability of this supposition based on the accessibility of various post-graduate conservation degrees and diplomas abroad and the content of publications such as the *Restorica* circulated by the Simon van der Stel Foundation.

A review of the *Restorica*¹⁸ publications from May 1960 to 1996 suggests otherwise as a number of texts sourced from American and European journals, and the Venice Charter in 1966, are all discussed at length.

Whilst *Restorica* has primarily focused on South African conservation work, such as the restoration of Reinet House in the first edition in 1960, the publication has featured numerous articles from the Advisory Board of National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments of the USA, the Journal of Historic Preservation (US), Town and Country Planning in Great Britain, UNESCO and Promotion of Arts in Britain.

Visser, Fagan and other members of the Cape Institute of Architects Heritage Committee were members of the Simon van der Stel Foundation and therefore subscribed to the *Restorica* in the 1960's and 1970's (Townsend, 2003: table2).

The first article published from the Advisory Board of National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments of the USA, in *Restorica Bulletin 2* (March 1961) defines the nine points applicable to the General Restoration Policy.

¹⁸ The *Restorica* was the publication of the Simon van der Stel Foundation, with the first edition published in 1960 and the last in 1996.

These points emphasise the need for “exhaustive archaeological and documentary evidence”, comprehensive recording of the building and surrounds, as well as an emphasis on the need to retain authenticity in executing the conservation of the artefact (National Park Service USA, 1961:24,25).

“In attempting to reconcile these claims and motives, the ultimate guide must be the tact and judgement of the men in charge. Certain observations may, however, be of assistance to them:

(3) *It is well to bear in mind the saying: ‘Better preserve than to repair, better repair than restore, better restore than construct.’*

(4) It is ordinarily better to retain *genuine* old work of several periods, rather than arbitrary to ‘restore’ the whole, by new work, to its aspect at a single period.

(5) This applies even to work of periods later than those now admired, provided their work represents a *genuine creative effort*

(6) In no case should our own artistic preferences or prejudices lead us to modify, on aesthetic grounds, work of a bygone period representing other artistic tastes” (National Park Service USA, 1961:24,25).

The article emphasises the importance of acknowledging the various periods of a building and the need to conserve rather than reconstruct and warns against falsification. This clearly defines a debate regarding methodology. These guidelines were subsequently re-published in the *Restorica Bulletin* 4 in April 1962 and included policy guidelines for Battlefields (National Park Service USA, 1962:21)

Bulletin 7 of the *Restorica* dated October 1963 features an article on preservation written by W M Whitehill in the *Historic Preservation (US)* journal, titled Thoughts on Historic Preservation. Whitehill emphasises the need to conserve historical buildings and ensure that they continue to be profitable in their day-to-day use. Further he argues that preservation is “preferable to restoration; restoration is preferable to reconstruction” and that “reconstruction is to be avoided” wherever possible; and emphasises that it is not acceptable to “destroy good buildings of a later period to emphasise those of earlier date” (Whitehill, quoted from *Restorica*, 1963:39).

This article and its content reinforces the international perspective published in earlier editions of the *Restorica*, which support conservation principles which do not in any way result in falsification of the artefact. Therefore the issues regarding falsification were clearly defined and articulated, and accessible to the conservation community.

Bulletin 7 also features an article from *The Promotion of the Arts in Britain* which discusses Architecture and Preservation in Great Britain. This article discusses the state-sponsored organisations such as the National Trust, heritage legislation, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Royal Institute of British Architects (*Restorica*, 1963:39-42). This series of articles pertaining to British Planning and Preservation is continued in *Bulletin 8 of the Restorica* dated April 1964.

These articles all raise the issue of methodology and authenticity. Therefore the international deliberations regarding conservation methodology were accessible at a limited scale and should have raised a debate within the profession regarding best practice.

The most important publication of the *Restorica* is *Bulletin 13* dated October 1966, which features the Venice Charter of 1964 (ICOMOS, 1966: 87-90). Therefore it cannot be argued that the Venice Charter was not readily accessible as it was published in South Africa within two years of its ratification in May 1964. Articles 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 define conservation methods and principles that were applicable to the South African context during the apartheid era. Article 7 states that “restoration is an operation to be employed only in exceptional cases” and yet *stylistic* restoration was the accepted methodology in South Africa, with numerous buildings restored and reconstructed by Fagan and Visser from 1966 onwards (ICOMOS, 1966:89). It appears therefore that there was a conscious decision to disregard the Venice Charter and pursue a restoration methodology which was deemed by the conservation lobby to be appropriate in the South African context.

Article 7 also states that any restoration “shall be based on respect for the original or for authentic documents and stops where hypothesis begins.” The three case studies discussed in this chapter have gone beyond conjecture in the process of design-by-analogy. Both articles 7 and 8 state that the “elements used to replace the missing parts should be harmoniously incorporated into the whole, but at the same time be distinguishable from the original parts in order that the restoration may not falsify the record of art and history”. This was clearly not the case when considering Tulbagh and the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet, the Dolphin Pool complex at the Castle of Good Hope and De Tuynhuys which were all almost complete reconstructions. Article 11 states that all “the valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration”. This clearly dismisses *stylistic* restoration.

The *Restorica* of 1980 features an article written by Carl Gerneke titled Reflections on Conservation: Changing views of Changing Monuments. Gerneke has just completed a year-long course at the Centre for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Buildings at the College of Europe in Bruges (Gerneke, 1980:75). Gerneke discusses at length the history of conservation, various contemporary texts and the Venice Charter. A subsequent article by Gerneke in the *Restorica* dated October 1983 titled Icomos: The International Council on Monuments and Sites discusses the organisation and role of ICOMOS, as well as the Athens Charter(1931), the Hague Convention(1954), the Venice Charter (1964), ICOMOS Warsaw (1965) and the various ICOMOS Symposia from 1965 – 1976 (Gerneke, 1983:42-45). Both these articles provide insight into the contemporary European and international debates pertaining to conservation, as well as the guidelines of the charters and yet in 1982 the Potchefstroom Charter was drafted by a select group of representatives and made no reference to these texts.

One of the final *Restorica* journals dated 1996 highlights the need for a more inclusive representation of heritage in the South African context. The article, written by the Director of the NMC and titled 'Broader heritage concept for the NMC' discusses the notion of “affirmative heritage” and the revision current heritage legislation (Hofmeyr, 1996:1).

“Affirmative conservation is what one could call it – the course that the National Monuments Council (NMC) has embarked on, entailing the identification and proclamation of a wider variety of institutions as notable heritage, in an attempt to involve and satisfy a broader section of South African society than before [...] A revision of the present National Monuments Act (Act no 28 of 1969, amended) has become essential since it contains many shortcomings and is partly based on outdated conservation principles” (Hofmeyr, 1996:1).

A search of the *Restorica* journals did not, however, refer to that the Burra Charter of 1979 or its subsequent revisions.

Townsend and Büttgens are correct in stating that the South African conservation norm was only “questioned in the late 1980’s” and therefore changes in the “theoretical positions and methodology” were only observed in the work undertaken by the architects after this time (Townsend, 2003:ix,92; Büttgens, 2010:5). This could be attributed to the fact that an increasing number of architects had completed conservation degrees and diplomas at European universities. Townsend completed his Masters at the University of Rome’s *Scuola di Specializzazione per lo Studio ed il Restauro dei Monumenti* in 1985, John Rennie (1973) and Graham Jacobs (1986) and Nicolas Baumann from the ISAA in York, and Prof Dennis Radford (1976) Masters in Conservation from Heriot-Watt University Edinburgh (Townsend, 2003:ix; Fisher et al, 2012; Dennis Radford; John Rennie, interview, 2 October 2012). So, architects were acquiring higher degrees in conservation as early as 1973. Other skilled professionals that joined the Urban Conservation Unit under Townsend’s leadership were Melanie Atwell (a historian) trained at ICCROM and Chris Schoeman (a historian) trained as a conservation specialist in the USA (Townsend, 2003:ix). The International Centre for Architectural Conservation (ICCROM) was established by UNESCO in 1965 and is linked to the University of Rome where the *Scuola di Specializzazione per lo Studio ed il Restauro dei Monumenti* was formed in 1960 (Feilden & Linstrum, 1975:128).

International travel and post-graduate studies were certainly accessible to numerous South African architects, many of them not as prominent as those listed in this discussion who were either academics or well-known practitioners. Ivan

Schlapobersky, Willie Meyer(1961), Francois Pienaar(1967), Floris Smith(1967), Roelof Uitenbogaardt (1961), Danie Theron(1962), Jack Diamond, Glen Gallagher and Anthony Lange all completed Masters degrees at the University of Pennsylvania under the guidance of Louis Kahn. Danie Theron continued to study abroad and completed a Masters in City Planning at the University of Manitoba, Canada in 1968. Basil Brink (1979) completed his Masters at the University of Delft (Owen,1989:42; Fisher et al, 2012, Philadelphia School).

The reasons for the plethora of *stylistic* restorations and reconstructions, as well as the lack of a theoretical conservation discourse, during the late 20th century in South Africa have not been fully explored.

Another aspect is that there was little conservation polemic translated into English (internationally or locally) until the 1980's. Townsend recalls his disquiet as a young architect over the debates in South Africa in the 1960's and 1970's, which were "conspicuously void of theory, principles and ethic: or so it seemed in South Africa" (Townsend, 2003: x). This, however, does not explain the lack of knowledge or interaction with the nineteenth and early twentieth century debates and the relevant conservation charters.

Fagan argues that the Venice Charter only appeared 1964, and the Nara document and (wrongly) Burra Charter in the 1990's (Barker, 2012:159).

"I have had to formulate my own ideas because unless you want to refer back to Ruskin, or Pugin, or Kendall and Eaton closer to home, there was very little available by way of conservation guidelines in English when I received my first commission, namely the beautiful Franschoek homestead La Dauphine in 1966.....After all ICOMOS was only Instituted in Paris in the 1960s, the York University course started in 1972 and the Australian Burra Charter was formed as recently as 1999" (Barker, 2012:159).

Fagan is wrong here as the Burra Charter is dated 1979 and it has been amended several times, most recently in 1999.

As discussed earlier, the ICCROM post-graduate courses were available from 1965, the first edition of the Burra Charter was ratified in 1979 and the Venice Charter was published locally in 1966. ICOMOS was founded as a result of the Venice Charter in 1965.

This reconstruction/restoration methodology was further entrenched in South Africa in 1982 with the compilation of the Potchefstroom Charter. The Potchefstroom Restoration Symposium of October 1982 was arranged by the Simon van der Stel Foundation in co-operation with the Museum Service of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Education Committee of the Southern African Museums Association and the Potchefstroom Museum. The symposium was therefore based on a partnership between the Simon van der Stel Foundation and the state. The sixty-five delegates included “representatives of national conservation bodies, members of the South African Museums Association, provincial museum services, individual museums, state departments, universities and architects involved in restoration” (*Restorica*, 1983:40). Gabriël Fagan and Brian Bassett (then Deputy-Director of the NMC) were two of the most prominent professionals present at the event (*Restorica*, 1983:40). The symposium programme was “designed to discuss restoration in all its stages” (*Restorica*, 1983:40). The outcome of the symposium was what is termed the Potch Charter. The English translation of the guidelines was published in the subsequent issue of the *Restorica* (*Restorica*, 1983:58).

“A further positive result of this symposium was the acceptance by the delegates of a set of guidelines or minimum standards for the restoration of buildings in South Africa. The guidelines will be submitted to conservation bodies and the authorities. The guidelines are printed in this issue for the information of those who could not attend the symposium” (*Restorica*, 1983:40).

“These guidelines also serve to guard against excess restoration and beautifying, through which a false image of the past is created” (*Restorica*, 1983:58).

The guidelines provide insight into the thinking not only of the participants but also the state. The guidelines are contrary to both the Venice (1964) and Burra (1979) Charters. Restoration is defined as “the professional repair of a structure and/or site

as far as possible to ONE stage in its history, by using all available information as to its origin, history and future use, with the purpose of securing its future survival" (*Restorica*, 1983:58). This definition is very much in keeping with the conservation methods of both Viollet-le-Duc which implies a *stylistic* restoration. Reconstruction is defined as the "re-creation of a structure or part thereof, based on reliable and extensive research and documentation" (*Restorica*, 1983:58). This contradicts articles 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Venice Charter (1964) and the general principles of the Athens Charter (1931). The design guidelines define in detail the "determination of period" to which the building should be restored and then states that the "structure should only be restored to ONE stage in its history" and that "aspects of the period to which the structure is restored should be scientifically justifiable" (*Restorica*, 1983:58). The method of "execution of restoration" requires that "where missing parts are replaced they should be historically correct, and in harmony with the entirety [...] with the use of "original techniques and materials." The guidelines also state that the architect must "guard against the use of new materials" (*Restorica*, 1983:58). This literature review highlights the intention of the profession and the state to pursue a conservative *stylistic* methodology regardless of the international positions pertaining to architectural monuments and sites.

Conclusion

It is therefore clear that the Nationalist state pursued the creation of a white settler heritage in order to support their political ideology. Porphyrius argues that architecture is a discipline which adopts and concretises select meanings which in turn represent the "state of the world in the interests of hegemonical power." Therefore architecture engages with political ideology through this process of "social mythification" and the production of an aesthetic which "supports or subverts hegemonical power" (Porphyrius [1982] quoted from Ockman, 1985:16). This relationship is supported by Foucault's notion of discourse and the position of the profession as servants to the state (Goldstein, 1984:176, quoting Foucault, 1972:172). In the case of South Africa the recreation of white settler heritage supported the political ideological construct of an "autochthonous" nation (Witz, 2003:11).

The case studies of the Castle of Good Hope, De Tuynhuys and the Graaff-Reinet Drostdy support the argument that architecture in essence became the physical and visual manifestation of VOC domination of the Cape Colony and therefore the origin of the white settler nation. This reflects the re-creation of what Foucault refers to as “absolutely perfect other places” in order to support the Nationalist political ideology (Foucault, 1986:27).

“There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias” (Foucault, 1986:24).

Joireman (2003:13) argues that nationalism is “politicised ethnicity” and therefore in order to quantify this political construct, ethnicity is described in terms of a set of “constructed memories, culture” which therefore promote “the politics of belonging” (Joireman, 2003:12,13) .

This analysis of the *Restorica* provides adequate basis to substantiate the argument that numerous conservation texts were readily available to the architectural profession and those involved in conservation at the time. The accessibility of these texts and therefore relevance of the international conservation debate were ignored in the drafting of the Potch Charter. The architectural and other professionals present at that gathering in Potchefstroom therefore made a conscious decision to pursue and entrench a methodology which was contrary to the international conventions and which suited the construction of an idealised heritage.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

This chapter summarises the findings derived from the analysis of the selected case studies within the framework of the relevant literature and research undertaken.

The case of De Tuynhuys was the first restoration project undertaken by Fagan on behalf of the state. The building in terms of its architectural heritage represented governance by both the Dutch/VOC and the British. This was clearly reflected in the architectural alterations undertaken over more than 150 years. The state through the ministry requested that the building be restored to an “original” state according to the drawings of Silip Schutte of 1758. Once again this was a clear cultural choice as to what era the building would reflect. As discussed earlier, Cape Dutch and VOC architecture became synonymous with “conservation practice and nationalist Afrikaner history” (Murray et al, 2007:3). Therefore there is a definitive link between this particular aesthetic and the role that architects played in concretising a chosen discourse or ideology.

As with the Castle, Fagan pursued a stylistic restoration and reconstruction of the façade, based on his argument pertaining to the “rarity” or significance of the building as an artefact. This purist position resulted in the idealised recreation of the building in its original Dutch/VOC style following the 1790 drawing by Josephus Jones. Fagan, as reflected in the correspondence with the Treasury and the Ministry of Public Works, was ultimately placed in the key position as the person responsible for all procurement and implementation. This is unusual considering the procurement processes in government, and was justified in terms of the project’s being of “national importance.”

The decision to restore De Tuynhuys to a Dutch/VOC era configuration was a cultural and ideological choice made by the state and supported by the architect. The name change from Government House to De Tuynhuys was the final step in removing the British history associated with the building. The building was no

longer a palimpsest of South African history but rather a reconstruction that represented a nationalist view of white settler history with a particular bent towards Dutch/VOC architecture.

The case study of the Castle of Good Hope illustrates the symbolism of the citadel first as a historic monument (1936) and then as a key site which represented nationalist white heritage. Therefore a cultural symbol which “constantly re-affirmed an Afrikaner identity as autochthonous” (Witz, 2003:11). This notion of the architecture concretising political nationalist ideology is supported by the state’s restoration and reconstruction of the Dutch/VOC citadel over a period of 32 years. The brief at the outset of the project was explicit in the instruction to restore the citadel in to its “original state” in order “to allow the Castle to become (sic) into its own again” (State functionary in Büttgens, 2010:2). This confirms a definite “cultural choice” conveyed by the client to the architect. This project was supported at the highest levels of the Nationalist political establishment, as illustrated for example by Büttgens’s reference to the conversation between Elize Botha (wife of the then President PW Botha) and Gwen Fagan which resulted in the funding for the project being immediately reinstated in 1982, “after a lull in progress due to a lack of funds” (Büttgens, 2010:57).

The *stylistic* restoration undertaken by Fagan conformed to the theoretical position of Viollet-le-Duc. Fagan’s approach was dictated by the “rarity” of the building and he therefore pursued the restoration and reconstruction of the VOC citadel in terms of his vision of a *stylistic* reconstruction. This methodology was supported by the “historical/stylistic wing of the Heritage Committee” (Townsend, 2003:235). This support is expressed as late as 2002 by the local and national institute in the presentation of the SAIA Award of Excellence for the Castle restoration. The citation notes that the “names of the Fagans can now be recorded against those of the original design engineer Dombeyer and the likes of Thibault as having significantly contributed to the architectural legacy of our country” (Büttgens, 2010:50). Therefore it would appear that the South African Institute of Architects and the Cape Institute of Architects still supported this stylistic restoration methodology in the post-apartheid era, when contemporary conservation

methodology in keeping with the Venice and Burra Charters had long been accepted.

It is therefore clear that the state and the architect were in agreement as to the nature and extent of the restoration, as well as the intent to restore the Castle to an idealised form as a symbol of white settler heritage. This was supported by the institutions of the state, namely the NMC, who reversed their initial position and decision regarding the reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool complex.

“The repair of lacunae at the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town has had a distinct aesthetic impact on the complex and has changed the perception of the complex [...] The intervention at the Castle, undertaken between the early 1970's and 2000, reflected the local consensus, particularly in the Afrikaner community, regarding historical and stylistic restorations” (Büttgens, 2010:iv).

The significance of the Castle and De Tuynhuys to the Nationalist state is clearly reflected in the flurry of declarations of Dutch/VOC buildings (including De Tuynhuys) and the promulgation of the Castle Board Management Act immediately before the first democratic elections in 1994 which elected the African National Congress to power. These final acts at the eleventh hour underlined the importance of these buildings to the State in terms of their political ideology, identity and culture.

In the case of the Drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, the project formed part of Rupert's restoration and recreation of Graaff-Reinet as a Cape Dutch town. His philanthropic gesture was based partly on the fact that Graaff-Reinet was his hometown and the architecture was intact with numerous Cape Dutch buildings remaining unaltered. Rupert, as an Afrikaner and businessman, was part of the Afrikaner establishment and this connection to the establishment is demonstrated by the presence of the Prime Minister and President at the openings of his restored buildings in Graaff-Reinet. This also confirms Shepherd and Murray's statement regarding the importance of Cape Dutch heritage to the nationalist regime (Murray, Shepherd et al, 2007: 3).

The *stylistic* reconstruction of the Drostdy by Visser illustrates Rupert's intention to reinstate the Dutch/VOC architecture, having purchased and restored the buildings to the rear of the building in Stretch's Court from 1966. Visser's argument regarding the reinstatement of the spatial symbolic link between the Drostdy and Reinet House (Pastorie) cannot be substantiated as the buildings are too far removed. The intentions of both Rupert and Visser were that of demolition of the British Victorian building and reinstating the idealised 'original' Dutch building.

The building therefore represents a complete reconstruction and cannot be considered a restoration. Visser's substantial knowledge of Cape Dutch architecture and his skills as a conservation architect were used by Rupert in pursuing his vision of a historic town of Cape Dutch buildings – which many have equated to Rockefeller's Williamsburg. The presentation of an ISAA merit award in 1979 once again confirms the architectural institute's support of stylistic reconstructions and restorations.

The case study of the Graaff-Reinet Drostdy differs from De Tuynhuys and the Castle owing to the fact that it was funded by a private corporation and directed by Anton Rupert. Rupert's conservation initiatives were driven by his vision to restore his home town to its original 18th century form, a project comparable to that of Williamsburg. Historical Homes of South Africa, founded by Rupert, was primarily involved in the restoration and reconstruction of numerous Cape Dutch buildings in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam (De Villiers, 2012). His focus and that of his investors discussed in Chapter 4 were therefore predominantly interested in Dutch architectural heritage and the need to safeguard these assets for the benefit of the community and future generations.

The architectural profession and more specifically the conservation architects resident in Cape Town were key role players in the interpretation, reconstruction and restoration of the Dutch/VOC architecture. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the prevailing conservation methodology of the architects concerned, namely Visser and Fagan, was that of *stylistic* restoration (Townsend, 2003:91), and this conservation philosophy and methodology supported the ideological position of the

state in its endeavours to reconstruct and celebrate Dutch/VOC heritage. This position is strengthened by the Potchefstroom Charter (1982) which mimics the long-dismissed theoretical position of Viollet-le-Duc and ignores the contemporary critical conservation theories and charters which were widely accepted internationally. Büttgens argues that Fagan's conservation methodology is one of *stylistic* historicism in that his approach relies on very detailed historical research rather than designing by analogy only, which was the method of Visser. (Büttgens, 2010:2). It is interesting to note when reading Barker's PhD the extent of Fagan's library pertaining to Modern Movement texts. He discusses in great detail the contemporary domestic projects completed by Fagan during his extensive career and notes the influences of his Modern Movement education at the University of Pretoria, the texts of Le Corbusier (Barker, 2012:323), Mumford (Barker, 2012:345), Breuer (Barker, 2012:336) and others. He sites Fagan's extensive library of texts which include Le Corbusier, Martienssen, Frank Lloyd Wright, Charles Jencks, Manfredo Tafuri, Glenn Murcutt, Kenzo Tange, James Stirling, Charles Correa, Robert A Stern, Alvar Aalto, and Luis Barragan and have informed Fagan's architectural design philosophy (Barker, 2012:476-480).

"Fagan's heterotrophic architecture has been formed through the mediation of two influences, namely an inherited vernacular tradition and a mediated Modern Movement education" (Barker, 2012:345).

It is somewhat surprising that there are no intellectual conservation texts, granted much of the polemic was written in Italian in the 1970's and 1980's.

The isolationist nature of South Africa has been widely cited as the reason for this conservation methodology. However, a review of the literature published in *Restorica* from 1960 to 1996 has revealed numerous texts regarding British, European and American conservation methodology, as well as the Venice Charter in 1966. The increased access to post-graduate conservation studies abroad resulted in a shift in the conservation methodology debate within the profession and the Cape Institute of Architects from the 1980's onwards. This change in conservation methodology from *stylistic restoration* to the notion of the *building as document* and to the critical restoration (now called values-based conservation) approaches negates the argument that the stylistic approach was as a result of the

isolationist nature of South Africa: the stylistic approach of Visser and Fagan was necessary for the white state's ends. The 1980's were fraught with political unrest, detentions, riots, revised internal security acts, a state of emergency and yet the conservation methodology debate increased owing to international engagement (SA History, 2012). Despite the UIA expulsion of the ISAA in 1986, architects continued to attend international conferences and universities (Franco Frescura, interview, 30 September 2012) and more importantly, had for decades been attending conferences and universities in Europe and the USA.

The architects who were members of the "re-constructionist" lobby group therefore consciously pursued *stylistic* restoration (Townsend, 2003:198,254). This self-conscious stance of the "reconstructionists" is most evident when reviewing the conservation arguments pertaining, for example, to the development of 20-22 Kloof Street, Rosenhof Court (1990) and Heritage Square (1997) - three cases examined in detail by Townsend (2003). The case of the Cape Town Heritage Trust and Heritage Square is of particular interest as both Fagan and Visser were trustees. A hypothetical reconstruction of earlier facades and buildings located on Shortmarket Street and the stylistic restoration of buildings located on Hout and Bree Streets were supported and implemented (Townsend, 2003:204).

"All of the protagonists of this idea referred to the 'unique opportunity' of restoring an 'entire city block (or contiguous part)' and of 'one period' [...]

It is worthy of note, though, that all of these protagonists insist that they held to the principles of authenticity and to the preservation of the diverse strata of ancient structures" (Townsend, 2003:205).

On the other hand, Hall argued that the "complex combinations of fashion and necessity" which create a "palimpsest of styles and appearances (are) much more representative of historical reality" than a pursuit of "aesthetic continuity" (Townsend, 2003:206). This notion is what Shepherd refers to as the "really real" rather than the "constructedness" and "frisson of authenticity" (Shepherd, 2008:125)

Conclusion

The case studies and the literature review support the notion that, once in power, the Afrikaner nationalists set about creating a white settler heritage which supported their political aspirations and ideology. Therefore, as “curator” of the national heritage, the nationalists created “cultural symbols” which “constantly re-affirmed an Afrikaner identity as autochthonous” (Witz, 2003:11).

Whilst the Nationalist government pursued a generalised *white settler heritage* in order to garner sufficient political support to remain in power, the emphasis was predominantly on the reconstruction and restoration of Dutch and VOC architecture (Witz, 2003:104) and the case studies discussed in Chapter 4 emphasise this promotion of white settler heritage through the actions of the key role players in the respective projects: the state, through its instructions to their architects, requested the recreation and therefore celebration of Dutch VOC heritage, although, as we have seen, the architects strived independently for these goals. This notion is supported by Nora’s argument that history and, therefore, heritage is a social and cultural construct (Nora, 1989:7). The Nationalist state was creating and re-creating *lieux de mémoire*.

The claim of belonging to “Africa and the land and as white” ensured that this cultural ideology promoted the Afrikaner *volk* rather than the remnants of British imperialism (Witz, 2003:12) and consequently English heritage played a subordinate role in terms of the tangible and intangible promotion of culture (Witz, 2003:101).

“The South African War promoted a revival of Afrikaner nationalism expressed in language, architecture and symbolism and, in particular, the rediscovery – and reinvention – of 17th and 18th-century baroque design [...] through the ‘purification’ of Afrikaans as a language and the election of the National Party in 1948, white South Africa rediscovered its cultural origins in an early colonial style of symmetrical facades, ornate gables, thatched roofs and white plaster walls offset by bottle-green woodwork and window shutters [...] while the Castle, through a multi-year restoration plan by the Department of Public

Works, was stripped of its British-era modifications and re-presented as a mid-18th-century celebration of VOC colonialism" (Hall, 2006:198).

The case studies confirm that the state used its power and resources to reconstruct and restore key heritage resources which represented Dutch and VOC power to their original form as idealised "heterotopias". The significance of this Dutch architectural heritage to the Nationalist state is demonstrated by the declaration and, more importantly, the creation of new independent ownerships, outside of direct state influence of numerous buildings, including De Tuynhuys, the Castle and Groot Constantia just before the first democratic elections in 1994. These actions confirm the old white state's fear of loss or damage to these cultural icons as it was about to lose power to the African National Congress.

In answer to one of the key questions of this dissertation, it is evident in the Castle and De Tuynhuys cases that the Nationalist state and the Afrikaner establishment were instrumental in the purist "reconstruction" of the iconic buildings representing the notion of the Dutch or Afrikaner heritage and therefore white settler heritage. This stance was supported by the reconstruction and stylistic restoration approaches which were prevalent amongst the influential conservation architects of the Cape from the 1960's to 1980's.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In order to fulfil the requirements of this dissertation an exploration of some conservation projects completed during the apartheid era of South Africa was undertaken. In effect this is a pilot or exploratory study as it is restricted to a selection of buildings restored and reconstructed by Fagan and Visser from 1967 to 1993, namely the Castle of Good Hope, De Tuynhuys and the Drostdy of Graaff - Reinet.

Fagan and Visser, both influential conservation architects, pursued the restoration of these buildings with a *stylistic/historicist* approach. This conservation methodology is typical of their work undertaken in both the private and public sector and adheres to the long dismissed theories of Viollet-le-Duc.

“Underwriting this idealist appeal was an aesthetic – moral belief in the unity, wholeness and integrity of the [...] buildings” (Eggert, 2009:54).

Fagan’s restoration approach is supported by extensive historical research and seeks to restore the stylistic unity and form of the building in question. On the other hand, Visser whilst adhering to the stylistic methodology, pursues the design-by-analogy method which, whilst analytical, is more intuitive. Their methodology was not dictated by the state: however, the conservation projects financed by the state certainly demanded this approach in order to ensure that the original form of the building was recreated.

“This approach is still today argued by a wide variety of parties to be the most apposite approach: those who seek to return the building to a particular form for purely artistic or architectural reasons, those who seek to refer to a particular ‘golden age’ in the local or national history, and those who have a particular political or historical axe to grind” (Townsend, 2003:25).

These circumstances have been echoed in the new states created after the break-up of the USSR and, as a consequence, the Riga Conference of 2000 was

necessary. Interestingly the Riga Charter endorses reconstructions in nationally important circumstances

Both Fagan and Visser pursued the recreation of the original Dutch/VOC architecture. Fagan reinstated original form of the VOC citadel through the restoration and reconstruction of lacunae at the Castle of Good Hope. The same approach was implemented in the restoration of De Tuynhuys with the recreation of the original design as illustrated by Josephus Jones. Both of these projects required extensive research from limited sources and a careful examination of the extant fabric - which resulted in a conscious decision to remove most of the British additions to the buildings. Visser, in the reconstruction of the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet, recreated the original building (he says to recreate the streetscape of the town) – a conscious decision to reinstate the lacuna in the urban form and therefore to create a heterotopia.

This conservation methodology was widely accepted by the profession in South Africa from the 1960's and was only challenged in the mid to late 1980's when various younger members of the Institute who had studied abroad started to question the validity of the method in terms of contemporary conservation charters and theories (Townsend, 2003:92). The domination of this stylistic methodology is the basis for the Potchefstroom Charter, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, does not conform to either the Venice or Burra Charters and is evident in these three restorations. The Potchefstroom Charter, published in 1983, dictates the restoration of the building to one period only and supports stylistic reconstructions contrary to the then long accepted practice elsewhere.

“Speculative recreation of buildings without original material falls outside official international guidelines altogether. In practice, all conservatorial intervention involves alteration, however minimal, to the existing physical fabric” (Eggert, 2009:45).

The argument of the isolationist state cannot be supported as numerous architects furthered their studies in conservation abroad and these contemporary conservation skills ensured that the *status quo* within the profession was challenged and altered to acknowledge the 'building as document' approach. Various international

conservation methodology texts and charters were also readily available in *Restorica*, the organ of the Simon van der Stel Foundation to which these architects belonged. These publications, whilst limited, provided insight into international conservation trends, policies and charters.

The findings in Chapter 5 support the notion that the Nationalist state actively pursued the recreation of Dutch/VOC relics and therefore white settler heritage in order to support their political ideology. Rupert, as representative or manifestation of the private Afrikaner establishment, did the same thing. The Ministry of Public Works' instructions to Fagan clearly expressed the intent of recreating the original VOC citadel at the Castle and the original form of De Tuynhuys. This was conveyed through the brief, instructions and the reference to archival material. The state used its power and resources to recreate and reinforce the notion of white settler heritage and therefore Nationalist ideology.

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ARCHIVAL SOURCES

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Dirk Visser Collection (reference BC1311)

BC 1311 B9 VALKENBERG 1986

Restoration of Valkenberg Manor House: Gregg Goddard:
Reconstruction Of Plaster Mouldings. Building Construction Term Paper, UCT, November 1986.

A3 report, unnumbered pages, approx 25mm thick. Part 1 is about plasterwork: historical overview, materials used, recipes. Part 2 is an account of restoration of Valkenberg house: history, restoration procedures, detailed account of the west gable, details of wavy parapets, many plans, many photographs, etc. The architects were Powers Associates (Trevor Thorold and Stephen Lennard project and supervising architects), Dirk Visser historical consultant, Contractors Gordon, Verhoef and Krause.

BC 1311 A2 PERSONAL

Letter from Helena Twells, 1996, 2pp

Dirk van Velden genealogy 6pp

Invitation to subscribe to "Leading Architecture" 2pp

Query re house on Liesbeek Canal from Ian Hunter 25.11.2002

BC1311 B1 PROJECTS DIRECTORY OF PROJECTS

"Where Is It?" notebook with list of project numbers

BC1311 B2 BABYLONSTOREN

Specification 1931 alterations by WH Louw

BC1311 B3 ELSENBURG, STELLENBOSCH DISTRICT

Collection of papers dealing with Elsenburg

Inventory of Jan Jurgen Roos, 1722. Werf outbuildings only. 2pp

Inventory of Jan Phillip Giebelaar, 1747. Werf outbuildings only. 1pp

Inventory of Anna Margarteha Hop, 1778. Werf outbuildings only. 3pp

Inventory of Martin Melk, 1781. Werf outbuildings only. 7pp

Inventory of Martin Melck, 1701 or 1781. Room-by-room list of items in main house, werf, etc. Cape Archives MOOC 7/1/28.

1. Handwritten transcription in a "Replica Calculation Pad", 34pp.

2. Photocopy of typed list, 15pp (two copies)

"Elsenburg oor drie eeue"

History of Elsenburg by Antoinette Rode, 1984.

Photocopy, 46pp. Includes plans, photographs. Unpublished material by G Fagan.

- BC1311 B4 131 BREE STREET PEDIMENT** 1966
 5pp A3 report
 Small photograph before restoration shows pediment
 Burger press clipping 23 Jun 1966
 Burger press clipping 4 Jul 1966
- BC1311 B5 GRAAFF-REINET DROSTDY** 1975
 [Also includes drawings of Reinet House by Norman Eaton]
 Excursion to Aberdeen, Graaff-Reinet, Nieu-Bethesda: Vernacular Architecture Society A4 guide. (2)
 Graaff-Reinet, the Gem of the Karoo. Publicity Association booklet
 Photo: three quarter view of single storey with corrugated iron roof, decorative fretwork verandah balcony. (Source: Jan J Genade, Ateljee Reinet Studio, Graaff-Reinet)
 Photo: combination of 4 photos with typed notes on reverse. Shows Drostdy (1) elevation thatched with gable, small pane sash windows, (2) three quarter view thatched with gable, (3) single storey with corrugated iron, fretwork on gable and verandah balcony, (4) double storey with fretwork.
 Photo: Elevation of double storey Drostdy Hotel.
 Plan (photo) proposed Drostdy, Graaff-Reinet. Full drawing with explanatory notes.
 Plan (photo) proposed Drostdy, Graaff-Reinet. Small version of plan only.
Oversize drawings: dyeline prints
 * asterisk items are stored as rolled drawings
Drawings: Munnik Visser Black & Fish: restoration of Graaff Reinet Drostdy
 *Measured drawing: Ground floor of all buildings. Scale 1:100. Dwg no H38 A101, Dec 1974.
 *Measured drawing 1st floor of 2 storey hotel. Scale 1:100. Dwg no H38 A102, Dec 1974.
 Measured drawing front elevation of 2 storey hotel and off-sales. Scale 1:100. No dwg no, date.
 *Ground floor plan showing demolitions. Plan of ceiling construction. Plan of roof construction. Scale 1:100. Dwg no H38A A202, Dec 1974.
 Ground floor plan of main building, off-sales, new kitchen. Scale 1:100. Dwg no H38 A205, Sep 1975.
 *Front elev Church St, gate, bottle store. Side elev Parlement St, small gate. Plans of gates. Scale 1:50. Dwg no H38 A402, Jan 1975.
 Rear elevation, section. Scale 1:50. Dwg no H38 A403, Feb or Dec 1977.
 Front elevation, side elev. Scale 1:50. Dwg no H38 A406, May 1975.
 *Elevation of front gable. Scale 1:10. Dwg no H38 A501, Jan 1975.
 (plus duplicate copy)
 *Gable details. 1:10 section thro gable, 1:1 details of plasterwork. Dwg no H38 A504, Dec 1974.

*Portevisie screen : 1:100 elev, FS details. Dwg no H38 A523, Dec 1975.

*Elev north-west gable, corner detail of rear gables, corner detail of side gables. Scale 1:10. Dwg no H38 A503, Jan 1975.

Public Bar sections, details of bakoond and hearth. Scale 1:50. Dwg no H38 A606, Sep 1975.

Unlocated timber details compares Drostdy architrave with 66 Loop Street. No scale, no dwg no.

Unlocated internal elevation shows casement windows, double door. No scale, no dwg no. Project H38.

Drawings: Norman Eaton: restoration of Reinet House

Front and rear elevations. Scale approx ¼"=1ft. Dwg no p240/7, Aug 1952 (plus duplicate copy)

South side elevation, north side elevation. Scale approx ¼"=1ft. Dwg no p240/8, Aug 1952

Front gable, rear gable, section thro kitchen, section thro hearth & chimney. Scale ½"=1ft. Dwg no p240/10, Feb 1953, revised Oct 1953. (plus duplicate copy)

Reconstruction of old chimney breast in NE room reusing castiron grate removed from achterhuis. Section thro building shows internal elevation, section thro chimney, plans. Scales ½"=1ft, 1/8"=1ft. Dwg no p240/13, Jul 1953.

Reconstruction of kitchen hearth, oven, flue, etc. Longitudinal section through building shows internal elev, cross section thro bakoond, plan of hearth, FS section thro hearth beam. Scales ½"=1ft, FS. Dwg no p240/14, Sep 1953

Door and window details. Front door, back door, kitchen door, 4 types of sash windows, basement windows. Scales ½"=1ft, ½ FS, FS. Dwg no p240/15, Mar 1953.

Front door transom (partial). Scale FS. Dwg no 240/18, 1953.

Door details. Scale FS. Dwg no p240/19, Sep 1954.

*Plaster mouldings to gables and main entrances. Scale FS. Dwg no p240/22, Jan 1955. (Related to dwg no p240/10) (plus second copy)

*Plaster urns and moulds to gables, etc. Scales FS, 1/8FS. Dwg no p240/23, Jan 1955. (Related to dwg no p240/10)

Wrought iron door and shutter furniture: strap hinges, bolt, catches, locks. Scale FS. Dwg no p240/24, Feb 1955

Site plan shows boundary walls, courtyards, pergolas, basement plan old Pastorie, plan of Curator's house on Naude St, plan of Rubridge Museum at rear; elevation of Naude St boundary wall and Curator's house, elevation of east boundary wall and Rubridge Museum, Murray St elevation of Reinet House, section thro boundary wall. Scale 1/8"=1ft. Dwg no p240/25, Jun 1955. (plus 2nd copy)

Mouldings to south boundary piers, vine trellis piers. Scale FS. Dwg no p240/26, Nov 1953.

Mouldings to gate piers and boundary walls. Scale FS. Dwg no p240/27, Jan 1955.

BC1311 B9 VALKENBERG 1986

Restoration of Valkenberg Manor House: Gregg Goddard:
Reconstruction Of Plaster Mouldings. Building Construction Term
Paper, UCT, November 1986.

A3 report, unnumbered pages, approx 25mm thick. Part 1 is about
plasterwork: historical overview, materials used, recipes. Part 2 is an
account of restoration of Valkenberg house: history, restoration
procedures, detailed account of the west gable, details of wavy
parapets, many plans, many photographs, etc. The architects were
Powers Associates (Trevor Thorold and Stephen Lennard project and
supervising architects), Dirk Visser historical consultant, Contractors
Gordon, Verhoef and Krause.

BC1311 B13 ALPHEN DOWER HOUSE & DOVECOTE 1989/90

Essay by Nicky Cloete-Hopkins

**BC1311 B14 EBEN DÖNGES CENTRE, RYNEVELD ST, UNIVERSITY OF
STELLENBOSCH 1990** also called Sasol Art Museum, old Bloemhof
School

CIA Conservation award summary 1pp

22 photographs:

1. Restored front Ryneveld St
2. Unrestored south-west gable
3. Pedestrian ramp added to south stoep
4. Restored front from north-west
5. Restored wrought iron boundary railings
6. Front with reconstructed roof louvre
7. Sculpture court at rear with statue of Prof du Plessis
8. Sculpture court from rear porch
9. Rear porch before restoration
10. East side before enclosing wall of sculpture court was built
11. West entrance hall interior
12. Main hall ceiling
13. Internal doorway to new staircases
14. Internal new main staircase
15. Internal rear lobby
16. Interior south stair
17. Mezzanine floor
18. Steps from Mezzanine to exhibition gallery
19. Interior temporary exhibition gallery
20. Galleries formed by lining classrooms
21. Interior original south stair with balustrade restored
22. Restored front onto Ryneveld Street

Ground floor plan with key to photo locations, A3

Mezzanine floor plan with key to photo locations, A3

1st floor plan with key to photo locations, A3

Oversize drawings

Original plans 'Proposed Bloemhof School', July 1905, architect FW Hesse

(A1 dyeline prints, scale 8ft to 1inch converted to 1:100 metric)

1. Ground floor plan, cellar plan, elevation of front piers and railings
2. First floor plan

BC1311 B15 86 HOUT STREET 1991

CIA Conservation award 1991, restored for Stephan Welz & Co.

Folder of 20 photographs with a 1pp report.

5 photos of facade before restoration (steel windows, no door moulding, pilaster columns with no caps)

2 pics of column capitals at 84 Loop Street used as precedent.

3 photos restored façade (small pane sash windows, etc)

3 photos rear door before and after restoration

3 photos internal staircase before and after

2 photos internal screen door, before and after

2 photos first floor level before and after

BC1311 B16 153 DORP STREET STELLENBOSCH RETHATCHING, 1996

16pp letters

Archaeological Impact Assessment. Photocopy 8pp, includes photos, plan

6 pp references in publications

BC1311 B20 ROODEBLOEM, WOODSTOCK 2000

Also known as Ruth Prowse College of Art

Tenders received 2000 alts

Oversize drawings

Ground floor plan. Pencil on plastic film. Scale 1:100. Dwg no R101/01, undated.

Ground floor plan. Dyeline copy on plastic film. Scale 1:100. Dwg no R101/01, undated.

First floor plan. Pencil on plastic film. Scale 1:100. Dwg no R101/02, undated.

First floor plan. Dyeline copy on plastic film. Scale 1:100. Dwg no R101/02, undated.

BC1311 B25 SUNDRY PROJECTS

Franschhoek: Roux/Akademie St: 1pp letter

Unknown: Munnikstraat: Site plan 1pp

Deeds Office transfers Erf 1184, Stellenbosch (5pp)

Deeds Office transfers Erf 6370, Laubser House, Stellenbosch (8pp)

Deeds Office transfers Erf 1190, Stellenbosch (5pp)

Timour Hall Plumstead, Fransen & Cook summary

Monbijou Tulbagh, summary sheet

BC1311 C BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AND MATERIALS

BC1311 C1 RECIPES: BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

[Dirk Visser collected and wrote numerous "recipes" for lime plaster, misvloere, etc.]

Replastering of old walls (1 cement, 2 lime, 8 sand)
 Cement for floors (1825 recipe: lime/ashes/clay)
 Wax treatment of Calico panels for unglazed windows (beeswax/beef dripping)
 Misvloer (Dr Mary Cook recipe: 2 antheap well beaten, 1 clay, 1 sand) and letter from Mary Cook about the misvloer recipe and Swellendam matters.
 Gebluste kalk
 Limewash for walls (Kalk vir die afwit van historiese geboue)
 Stellenbosch Museum
 Kaggel-braai details (proportions/sizes for a braai fireplace)
 UCT plaster specification 1
 UCT plaster specification 2
 Slurry sealing coats (Newlands House)
 Thatch (Lucas Thatchers)
 Thatchcoat fire-retardant
 Light water fire-retardant
 Hotfoot dirtbusters
 Period wallpaper
 Historical textiles, wallpaper
 Velux roof windows
 Correcting outward leaning walls (SPAB leaflet)
 Granite (Olifantskop)
 Science and the production of dekriet by George Davis, 2pp
 Repairing cracks to walls by Henry Fagan 2pp
 Orange shellac 1pp
 Hardening steel with a satin black finish, 1pp
 Repair of plaster relief sculpture by Jan Corewijn, 7pp

BC1311 D ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

Related gable types

Preliminary notes of an essay dictated to 'Connie' 24 Oct 2001 but not corrected throughout, 14pp. Also duplicate pages

BC1311 E4 COMMITTEES

Questionnaire re new School of Architecture 2pp
 Letter Furniture History Society, 1996, 1pp
 Castle Control Board, 1997, 7pp
 Cape Dutch Houses – suggested list
 Mowbray Community Police Forum, 1pp

BC1311 F GENERAL

BC1311 F1 COLLECTION OF MAGAZINES AND PUBLICATIONS

BERG AND BREEDE RIVIER VALLEYS TOUR NOTES

Compiled by Dirk Visser, 12pp
 Vernacular Architecture Society of SA, 1995
 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE SOCIETY OF SA
 November 2001 outing notes leaflet
 ARCHITECTURE SA
 Jan/Feb 1986

Includes article by O Pryce-Lewis on Cape Dutch building with three front-facing gables.

Melkbosstrand 3318CB 1:50 000

Smitwinkelsbaai. Dyeline print in oversize folder

1:500 map Rhodes Ave/Main Rd Mowbray

1:500 map Avenue Rd Mowbray

Surveyors diagram erf 28548 (2)

BC1311 F6 FLOOR PLANS [oversize]

Transparencies of floor plans of:

Nederburg Daljosaphat, 1800

Coenradenberg, 1804

Nova Constantia, 1808

Groenvlei Helderberg, 1808

House at Franschoek, 1839

Eenzaamheid Langkloof

Photocopy of floor plan of Cradockstraat 44 [Graaf-Reinet?]

South African Heritage Resources Agency, Cape Town:

These items need to be aligned

The Castle of Good Hope - National Monuments Council(NMC) Files:

The Castle of Good Hope Files: Reference 9/2/017/ volumes 1 and 2

The Castle: National Monuments Council – transcript of Meeting 11 December 1986 (Ref 4/Kaa/1 – pages 1-34).

The Castle: Gabriël Fagan Architects Letter – Director, National Monuments Council (8 December 1986).

The Castle: Gabriël Fagan Architects – Condensed Motivation for the Re-construction of the Dolphin Pool, Colonnade and Surrounding Building, Cape Town Castle (8 December 1986).

The Castle: Gabriël Fagan Architects – Letter to NMC requesting an urgent special meeting (8 December 1986).

The Castle: John Rennie Architect – Letter to the Director, National Monuments Council (Support for the Reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool, Colonnade and Surrounding Buildings – 8 December 1986).

The Castle: Munnik Visser Black and Fish Architects – Dirk Visser - Letter to the Director, National Monuments Council (Support for the Reconstruction of the Dolphin Pool, Colonnade and Surrounding Buildings – 8 December 1986).

The Castle: National Monuments Council Minutes – Discussions regarding the Castle: 27 November 1986.

The Castle: National Monuments Council Letter to Gabriël Fagan Architects – The Castle, Cape Town: Excavations and Erection of a New Building (14 November 1986).

The Castle: National Monuments Council Minutes 10 October 1986 – The Castle, Cape Town – decision regarding the excavations and reconstructions.

FILE NUMBER 9/2/018/235

Tuynhuis/Stalplein – National Monuments Council(NMC) Files

Tuynhuis/StalpleinFiles: Reference 9/2/018/235 volumes 1 and 2

De Tuynhuys: National Monuments Council Minutes – Government House Cape Town (2 October 1967).

De Tuynhuys: Memorandum – Declaration of Properties to be National Monuments (28 May 1993)

De Tuynhuys: Government Gazette, 4 June 1993, Declaration of De Tuynhuys.

De Tuynhuys: Department of Public Works, Memorandum to the Director General NMC, Feedback: Minister Shill : Cabinet Meeting [regarding declaration of State buildings as National Monuments and the Castle of Good Hope] (15 December 1993)

FILE NUMBER 9/2/018/235

De Tuynhuys: Letter from E.E Jansen to the Chairman of the HMC – regarding declaration of Government House (12 July 1959).

De Tuynhuys: Letter from WM Fehr to the Chairman of the HMC – regarding declaration of Government House (7 November 1959).

De Tuynhuys: Letter to HMC from Department of Public Works – regarding the declaration of Government House (27 June 1960).

De Tuynhuys: Letter to NMC from Director-General Department of Community Development – regarding the declaration of Government House (21 October 1983).

De Tuynhuys: Letter to NMC from Director-General Department of Community Development – regarding the declaration of Government House (23 September 1983).

De Tuynhuys: Letter from NMC to Director-General Department of Community Development – regarding the declaration of Government House (15 February 1983).

De Tuynhuys: Letter to NMC from Director-General Department of Community Development – regarding the declaration of Government House (12 February 1982).

Gabriël Fagan Architects:

De Tuynhuys restorations 1967 – 1972 Files 1 and 2

The Castle of Good Hope 1969- File 1

De Tuynhuys: Department of Public Works to Gabriël Fagan Architects – letter of invitation to perform architectural duties. Cape Town: Restoration of Government House (17 March 1967).

De Tuynhuys: Gabriël Fagan Architects, project notes, 3 April 1967.

De Tuynhuys: Lecture notes on the State President's Residence and La Dauphine – reference to Josephus Jones drawing (no date)

De Tuynhuys: Department of Public Works to Gabriël Fagan Architects – letter regarding the roof and balustrade (19 October 1967).

De Tuynhuys: Gabriël Fagan Architects to Department of Public Works – letter regarding the roof and balustrade (16 January 1968).

De Tuynhuys: Gabriël Fagan Architects to Department of Public Works – letter regarding the preparation of a model of the Garden façade by Hunter (30 January 1968).

De Tuynhuys: Department of Public Works to Gabriël Fagan Architects – letter regarding the progress of work and the interior restoration (13 November 1967).

De Tuynhuys: Gabriël Fagan Architects to Department of Public Works – letter

regarding the planting of the Tuynhuys garden (14 August 1971).
De Tuynhuys: Department of Public Works to the State Buyer – letter regarding the procurement of services and materials (24 October 1969).

South African National Archives, Cape Town

Arthur Elliot Collection
Government House Files

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Gabriël and Gwendoline Fagan personal interview 156 Bree Street, Cape Town (See Transcript)	Architect and Historian 3 October 2012
John Rennie personal interview 15 Church Street, Cape Town (See Transcript)	Architect 2 October 2012
Jane Visser personal interview 17 Church Street, Cape Town (See Transcript)	Architect 2 October 2012
Basil Brink (personal interview 3 Flower Street, Hermanus Cape (See Transcript)	Architect and Academic 3 October 2012
Ivan Flint personal interview 88 New Church Street, Cape Town	Architect 5 October 2012
Ivan Schlapobersky personal interview 5 Fricker Road, Johannesburg (See Transcript)	Architect 22 September 2012
David Visser telephonic discussion, Cape Town	Son of Dirk Visser 16 October 2012
Penny Pistorius discussion via email correspondence, Cape	Architect and Historian 12 October 2012
Prof Franco Frescura telephonic discussion, Durban	Architect and Academic 30 September 2012
Prof Roger Fisher Informal discussion at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University	Architect and Academic 25 September 2012
Gregg Goddard discussion via email correspondence Cape Town	Architect 19 October 2012
Trevor Thorold discussion via email correspondence	Architect 24 November 2012

ADDENDUM A – SYNOPSES DIRK VAN VELDEN VISSER, GABRIËL THERON FAGAN AND DR ANTON RUPERT

It is informative, prior to examining the conservation projects and the approaches or 'philosophies' of the architects concerned, to briefly provide biographical synopses of their familial and cultural contexts. These synopses provides insight into their particular interest in conservation of Cape Dutch buildings. Two key figures in this analysis are Dirk van Velden Visser and Gabriël Fagan.

Dirk van Velden Visser

Dirk van Velden Visser was born in 1930 to John and Christophene Visser (nee Louw). Christophene Louw had lived at the homestead Babylonstoren just outside Paarl. Babylonstoren was originally owned and built by Pieter van der Byl who was a 'free burgher' and 'heemraad' for the Drakenstein region.

The H-shaped homestead and its werf were built in 1777 by Pieter de Villiers who had purchased the farm in 1762 (De Bosdari,1953:86). The farm Babylonstoren was later bought on auction by Johannes Wynand Louw in 1844 and remained in the Louw family from 1844 until Christophene's cousin David Louw passed died in 2004. The farm buildings had been restored by Dirk van Velden Louw in 1931 assisted by the Paarl architect Wyn and Louw, when the central gable and thatching of the H-shaped homestead was reinstated (Visser.J,2002). The Visser family lived in various towns; Bredasdorp, Napier, Fraserburg, Vanrhynsdorp and finally Cape Town. Dirk Visser matriculated from Vanrhynsdorp High School in 1947 and enrolled at the University of Cape Town's Department of Architecture in 1948 (Visser.M,2003). Visser, Mike Munnik (later partner to Visser) and various classmates measured up and prepared rendered drawings of Babylonstoren. "Cape Dutching" or "vernacking" was one of Visser's and his friends' favourite past times on weekends and during university vacations. It was through this and his experience of his mother's family's Babylonstoren that Dirk Visser developed a vast knowledge of Cape Dutch homesteads, the underlying social histories, traditional construction methods and the underlying social histories (Visser.J,2002, Munnik,2003). It was not surprising that once Munnik Visser Architects was established in 1959 that part of the work undertaken by Visser involved conservation

projects. He undertook numerous commissions for Anton Rupert, Historic Homes, Distillers Corp (SA) Ltd, the Rupert Foundation, Stefan Welz and many others, including the reconstruction of the Graaff-Reinet Drostdy (1978), Newlands House(1985), the restoration of Nova Constantia (1972), Valkenburg (1986), Vredenburg (his own home from ? until his death), 86 Hout Street(1990), the Dower House at Alphen Constantia, St Mary's Cathedral, Uitkyk and Le Bonheur (Ivan Flint interview,5/10/2012; Jane Visser interview, 2/10/2012). Visser received merit awards from the South African Institute of Architects for the work undertaken on the Graaff-Reinet Drostdy (1979) and 86 Hout Street Cape Town(1991).

Gabriël Theron Fagan

Gabriël Theron Fagan was born in 1925 into a prominent Afrikaner family, the second child of Henry Allan Fagan and Jessie (Queenie) Fagan (nee Theron) – both from Tulbagh. Henry Allan Fagan was an accomplished advocate and writer. He had a very successful legal career as an advocate representing the likes of Nasionale Pers Bpk assisted by Dr T.E Dönges, Ko-operatiewe Wynbouers Vereniging (KWV) and others (Broeksma in Fagan,1975:95). He then accepted a position at Stellenbosch University as the first Professor of Roman Dutch Law and after being appointed as a Judge in the Cape in 1943, an Appellate Judge in 1950, ultimately became Chief Justice of South Africa in 1957 (Fagan,1975:69,99). At various points in his legal career he ventured into politics; in 1929 he stood as National Party¹⁹ candidate for the voting district of Hottentots Holland. He was unsuccessful (Fagan,1975:49) In 1933, however, he was elected as the National Party member for Swellendam within the coalition government. He joined the opposition benches with J.M.B Hertzog and the United Party²⁰ in 1936. In 1937 Fagan (senior) successfully stood as a United Party candidate in Stellenbosch and shortly thereafter became the Minister of Native Affairs, Education and Welfare in General Hertzog's coalition government. The coalition government was dissolved in

¹⁹ The National Party was first elected to parliament in 1914 under the leadership of J.M.B Hertzog. The party declined in the 1930's and therefore merged with the South African Party in 1934 to form the United Party. J.M.B Hertzog and his colleagues leave parliament in 1939 due to their refusal to support the declaration of war against Germany. The National Party was therefore reformed under the leadership of Dr D.F Malan and ultimately became the dominant political party in South Africa from 1948 (Kriel,2010:402, Wilkins,1978:40,55,73).

²⁰ The United Party was formed due to the coalition between the South African Party and the National Party

1939 with the outbreak of the Second World War and Hertzog's refusal to support a declaration of war against Germany (Fagan1975:63-65;Wilkins,1978:73).

Henry Fagan was also a renowned writer of texts, poetry – the most notable part of the committee responsible for the English translation of the national anthem 'Die Stem' in 1952 (Fagan,1975:111). Gabriël (Gawie) Fagan grew up in Newlands, Cape Town and attended the Simon van der Stel Primary School in Wynberg and matriculated from Jan van Riebeeck High School in 1942. Fagan studied engineering part time at the University of Cape Town from 1943 -1946; however he decided to pursue architecture and enrolled at the University of Pretoria in 1947. The department of architecture had been established in 1943 under the leadership of Prof Adriaan Meiring. Fagan completed his studies in 1951 and joined Volkskas Bank as one of their in-house architects. He travelled to various sites, particularly into the Karoo, due to the fact that Volkskas expanded its business into many small towns. This resulted in Fagan's interest and research into vernacular architecture which he photographed extensively between 1959 and 1964 and forms the basis for his book '*Brakdak:Flat roofs in the Karoo*' published in 2008 (Barker,2012:128-153). Fagan left Volkskas Bank in 1964 and relocated to Cape Town where he established his own architectural practice, with his first conservation project, the restoration of La Dauphine in 1966. Since that first commission he has completed numerous projects namely – Tulbagh Main Street (1970), De Tuynhuis (1968-1971), the Castle of Good Hope(1970-1992), Newlands Brewery(1996), the Mossel Bay Museum Complex(1989) and the new addition to the Infectious Diseases building at UCT(2005) to mention a few (Barker,2012:158-160).

“Let me say: new design is much more exciting! But restoration also brings its rewards and through the research and the work you feel part of our history” (Fagan quoted from Barker, 2012:158).

He has received awards of merit from the South African Institute of Architects for all of the above mentioned projects (,Büttgens,2010:114).

Both Visser and Fagan were both part of the Afrikaner establishment. Fagan however, through his father's political and legal career, had greater access to the political structures of the Afrikaner establishment.

Anthony Edward Rupert

In order to understand Rupert's interest in conservation, business and cultural philosophy, his familial and cultural background provide an interesting backdrop.

Anton Rupert was born in Graaff-Reinet in 1916. His grandparents, Johann Peter Rupert and Emma Susanna had settled in Graaff-Reinet in the town from Prussia in 1862 (Dommissie,2005:20-22). His father, John Rupert, was an accomplished attorney in Graaff-Reinet, who became involved in politics in 1912 and established the first branch of the National Party in Graaff-Reinet (Dommissie,2005:24,25). Anton Rupert attended the University of Pretoria and obtained his BSc majoring in chemistry in 1936. He registered for an MSc in chemistry the following year and lectured pharmaceutical students on a part time basis. As a member of the Afrikaanse Studentebond he participated in the Ox-wagon Trek of 1938 (Dommissie,2005:40-42).

“Afrikaner nationalism swept the Pretoria campus after the centenary, so much so that the UP was unofficially called the Voortrekker University for a while” (Dommissie,2005:43).

Rupert obtained his MSc in chemistry in 1939 and was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria. He was part of the anti war protests on the UP campus and met Dirk Hertzog, who organised an interview with General Hertzog. This meeting was to have a profound effect on his business and political views (Dommissie,2005:46,47, Esterhuyse,1986:13). Rupert and Hertzog later became a co-founders of Industrial Investments (1943), Distillers Corporation(1945) and the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation (Esterhuyse,1986:14).

“His humility made a great impression on me[...] His advice was that we should return to our studies. This led to a complete change of outlook on my part, from that of a protestor to that of someone who wanted to do something practical” (Rupert, quoted from Esterhuyse,1986:13).

He was wary of participating in party politics, however in 1950 he made his first public appeal for coexistence at the National Economic Congress in Bloemfontein (Dommissie,2005:152). Rupert was a supporter of Judge Henry Fagan's philosophy of racial coexistence and for this reason he clashed with Verwoerd from 1959. As a result of this confrontation he focused on his overseas business interests, which

became very profitable. (Dommissie, 2005:151,153,154). Rupert played an active role in public life from 1960, was outspoken regarding many political issues and therefore clashed with the nationalist government on numerous issues from ranging from segregation, housing to foreign policy.

“The political climate in the 1960s was extremely unfavourable for Dr Rupert and his ideas. With Dr Verwoerd as prime minister, the tobacco magnate was not a member of the National Afrikaner establishment, unlike today, he exercised a futile, peripheral influence on politics. Relations between him and Dr Verwoerd were so strained that he was once virtually thrown out of Dr Verwoerd’s office” (Dommissie,2005:157).

Rupert “subscribed to a definition of business as ‘honourably serving the public as a profit’” (Rupert, quoted in Dommissie,2005:46,47).

“My task, as I see it, is to help my fellow Afrikaners, to help my fellow South Africans, to help the West and to help the world. I believe one must start with the little things in one’s endeavours to right the great wrongs” (Rupert, quoted in Esterhuyse,1986:17).

This philosophy resulted in numerous institutions being established to provide a service to the community through the Rembrandt Group. Those linked to heritage are the Historical Homes of South Africa and SA Nature Foundation founded in 1966 and 1968 respectively. In a lecture on 26 August 1975 to the University of Pretoria he discussed the conservation programmes and legislation implemented in Europe, with particular reference to the Netherlands and France (Rupert,1975:4,5). Rupert’s concern for the neglect of South Africa’s historical built environment, particularly homes built in the Cape Dutch style, had led to the establishment of Historical Homes of South Africa. This company listed in terms of the Companies Act after a public appeal by Rupert in 1965. The “136 founder members included 36 public companies”, which included all the “financial mining houses, newspaper groups” and certain “banking institutions” (Dommissie,2005:158).

“ As a result of these initiatives Anton Rupert’s name has become inextricably linked to imposing towns such as Stellenbosch, Tulbagh and Graaff-Reinet, whose historical buildings have become major tourist attractions” (Dommissie,2005:357).

All his restoration projects were guided by the principle that “there is no point in rescuing an old building unless it could be put to sustainable use”, which implied that it must be profitable. Rupert viewed these buildings as “living cultural assets” (Dommissie,2005:358,361).

“That is why I advocate a policy of partnership between capital and culture: to help preserve our legacy, but also to provide a climate that is conducive to the creation of cultural goods for the generations to come. History proves that material progress does not necessarily have to be in conflict with the flourishing of culture” (Rupert, quoted in Dommissie,2005:358).

Historical Homes contributed to the reconstruction and restoration of facades of some 250 buildings in Graaff-Reinet. The town has the largest number of proclaimed national monuments, totalling 300 buildings. Much of this work was facilitated by Gerard Froneman, who believed that the restoration project in Graaff-Reinet was comparable to Williamsburg, which was established by the Rockefeller family from 1928 (Dommissie,2005:360). Rupert succeeded in proving that the restoration and recycling of heritage buildings was a profitable endeavour.

“Every civilised country is proud of the tracks it has made on its developmental road – and the visible tracks of our cultural heritage are our historical buildings. Let us then preserve them carefully and keep them in trust for posterity, for they are truly ‘the title deeds to the country we love’. Many generations to come never have to accuse us of having obliterated our footprints ourselves” (Rupert, quoted in Dommissie,2005:367).

Rupert was first and foremost an Afrikaner, and this is reflected in his concerns for fellow Afrikaners and their success in industry, the preservation of Afrikaner culture, language and architecture. The Cape Dutch architecture reflected a manifestation of his cultural background, with particular reference to his home town of Graaff-Reinet. He was however moderate in his political views and therefore, whilst influential, was not part of the core political Afrikaner establishment - this is evident in his dealings with Verwoerd in the 1960s. His concern for the neglect of South Africa’s historical built environment is evident in his conservation achievements in towns such as Graaff-Reinet, Stellenbosch, Swellendam and Paarl. Granted this concern was linked to a capitalist philosophy of profitability and therefore most of his conservation endeavours have been self sustaining.

ADDENDUM B – TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS

Transcript/notes of interview meeting with Drs Gwen and Gabriël Fagan

Gwen and Gabriël Fagan

3 October 2012

156 Bree Street, Cape Town

Time:4:30pm

Duration: approximately 1 1/2 hours

Gabriël Fagan is the recipient of a number of gold medals from the National Monuments Council (1973), South African Academy of Literature and Science (1975), Simon van der Stel Foundation (1982), South African Institute of Architects (1988) and the Order for Meritorious Service (State President's Award) in 1989. Fagan has also been conferred with honorary doctorates from the Universities of Stellenbosch and the Orange Free State. His wife Gwendoline Fagan has worked on a number of the conservation projects with him since 1969 and has produced substantial research documentation on Tulbagh, De Tuynhuys, Castle of Good Hope and the Dias Museum (Büttgens,2010:115, Interview Gabriël and Gwen Fagan, 3/10/2012).

3.0 General Questions:

3.1 You cite the “rarity factor” of a particular building and its context as influencing the type of intervention and restoration, as opposed to strict adherence to Conservation Charters.

- **What do you mean by rarity factor?**

Gawie – rarity refers to “a remnant of a previously common type” or a building that is “rare in style”

Gwen - The building tells a story of a particular period

A good example being the old industrial/warehouse building which houses our office, which in the past was a common building type in Cape Town. There are now only four or five of these warehouses remaining in the city, so the building is now categorised as a rare type.

- **What is your personal philosophy in terms of conservation?**

Gawie – I don't suppose I tackle a project with any preset philosophy, but rather in a pragmatic way to stabilise and return to practical use.

Gwen – One way of looking at our method of conservation would be the analogy in terms of how one would deal with a patient when undertaking a medical examination.....one examines the entire “body” – structure/building from “top to bottom” and through this process of a “thorough assessment” one determines exactly what is wrong(determine the “ailments”) – in terms of an historical building, this requires very thorough historical research of every aspect of the building

3.2 What did the Cape Dutch and early VOC buildings, such as the Castle, symbolise at the time of their restoration?

Gawie and Gwen – These buildings are significant artefacts and represent examples of “good buildings” of the Dutch /VOC era.

When dealing with the Castle we looked at Italian precedents – as well as other such citadels built by the VOC – one of the best examples being the citadel at Jaffna (moat and gates)

This citadel provided invaluable information in terms of the reconstruction of the gates at the Castle and inspired Gawie to reinstate the moat around the Castle

(the water sourced via ancient aquaducts which are found under the city.....the water is channelled from the small rivers found on Table Mountain)

Gwen and Gawie travelled to all the VOC citadels at their own expense.

3.3 Does the client or the brief restrict your method of approach to a conservation project in any way?

Gawie - No the client allowed me to proceed and work according to my own methods and decisions. They (the DPW) understood what I wanted to achieve and allowed me to work accordingly.

Gwen - Cliff Green, the DPW architect who was in charge of the Castle project and Tuynhuys - understood Gawie's intentions and what he ultimately wanted to achieve. There was never any interference. The only "helpful interference" was that from Elize Botha when she called to congratulate Gawie on winning the Cape to Punta-del-Este yacht race. She also asked about the progress with the Castle restoration and when I informed her that it had been stopped due to a lack of funds, she paused and was concerned. Three weeks later we were told to continue! She was a caring person. She even called when she read that Gawie's brother's son had committed suicide.

3.4 Peter Buttgens refers to the term "design-by-analogy" in his dissertation regarding the Castle and the stylistic reconstruction of the lacunae at the Castle, what did you mean by this?

Gawie - It is not a term I had used. I have not checked with him, but I suppose he refers to instances where information is missing, like at the main entrance gates, which we based on an extant painting, but had to base the details on similar gates we had looked at in the East.

Gawie and Gwen - yes one does "copy" when it is necessary to "complete the picture." It is a matter of using the correct period detail, which I would hardly term copying.

A different example would be Tulbagh.... Stephen Townsend does not agree with what was done there - he talks about "layers" and retaining such "layers"

If one considers the concept of "layers" and leaving all the layers in place - well there is your building, complete with all its layers - you therefore change nothing. Present-day

Malmesbury would be a typical example of a village complete with its layers.

When considering Tulbagh - the question is - what was one meant to do in Church Street?

There was very extensive earthquake damage with sewage flowing into the street and the army were already offering to demolish everything.

Gwen - The demolition was free, all you had to do was sign the paperwork. This part of Tulbagh was known as the slums of the village. The buildings had been extensively altered, the rooms made smaller with subdivisions.

Gawie - Therefore we pursued the restoration of Tulbagh according to a photograph taken in 1865 from a hillside overlooking the town.

This photograph showed all the gables - but the outlines only.

So we had the outlines, but it would give the wrong impression to leave them blank, so we researched each family who had owned a house and through this process found the details from family examples.

Gwen - (family tendency to replicate family gables - say Smuts' house - refer to Smuts family gables and details)

3.5 Two of your major projects, namely the Castle of Good Hope and De Tuynhuys were funded by the Department of Public Works, what was the position of the State regarding conservation at that time?

Gwen - The DPW architect Cliff Green understood the way Gawie worked and allowed him to continue with his own approach and methods.

Gawie - yes they understood what I was doing and allowed me to continue.. Both Tuynhuys and the Castle were in a poor, and partly extremely dangerous state of repair, which is what underlay the commissions.

4.0 Additional Project Specific Questions;

4.1 De Tuynhuys Restoration (1968-1972)

4.1.1 What was the client's brief on this project and did it change in any way during the reconstruction and restoration?

We were asked to reconstruct the façade facing Stalplein according to a drawing by Silip Schutte. Schutte's drawing proved never to have been executed however, and so was not followed in any way.

4.1.2 Was the State President involved in the restoration of his residence, in terms of his personal requirements?

Gawie and Gwen – no there was nothing **personal** about the project.

The president was not personally involved in any way.

N Darke - John Rennie worked on the project with you and refers to your having liaised with Eben Donges regarding the need for conserving Tuynhuys?

Gawie – We cannot recall ever liaising with Donges about the project, and received our brief from PWD in the usual way. Refer question 3.2

Regarding Elize Botha

John left us before the project was completed, as he did not agree with the size of the putti created by the sculptor **Sydney Hunter** for the central gable, considering them too large.

We had all approved Hunter's beautiful maquette where the putti could be judged in context and I felt it would be wrong and unreasonable to now want them smaller.

4.1.3 What was your conservation approach when considering this project retrospectively?

Gawie – my intention was to return the buildings to their best state. **Refer 3.3**

Gawie – everyone goes on about what these buildings symbolised, they symbolised nothing, they are merely rare.....good buildings.

4.1.4 The Sunday Tribune of 1968 reported that Ena Lewcock discovered the Josephus Jones drawing of the Garden façade of Tuynhuys in the Delft Archives.

How did that assist your restoration of the building?

Gwen – Prof Bax provided great assistance and research on the project. The first image was the Josephus Jones drawing.

What was the reason for retaining the Victorian balconies on either side of the central Tuynhuys façade?

There was no reason to demolish them. They do not seem to detract from the whole, and represent an important phase and layer.

4.1.5 The Argus of the 27 October 1971 reported that the Department of Public Works provided you with the drawing of the Stalplein façade by Sillip Schutte,

Did the drawing correspond with the existing structure?

Gawie – the Schutte drawing (Stalplein façade) was "fictional" the building was never built like that. We cut away **a continuous band of** plaster on the Stalplein façade and found that **there had** had never been **windows where** shown on the Schutte drawing.

How did this assist you with the restoration of the building?

Gawie – the Schutte drawing (Stalplein façade) was "fictional"

Gwen – Gwen was instrumental in getting the original Tuynhuys garden reinstated.

Gawie - Whilst excavating the gardens we found the footings of the pond in the Tuynhuys garden.....even the original pipes were found in situ.

Gwen – we sourced **rose** cuttings from Kew Gardens and had them cultivated at Kirstenbosch.....PW Botha subsequently planted grass around the base of the trees rather than leaving the formal layout of the paving intact.

4.1.6 The NMC files reflect many requests from various parties to declare the building a national monument, however this only occurred in 1993.

Why was the building not declared after the restoration?

Gawie and Gwen – we do not know, **but have the impression that the state were generally not keen on having their buildings declared, as also many private owners, as it would restrict future changes.**

- 4.1.7 **Revel Fox and Partners and then Munnik Visser were appointed to work on the parliamentary complex and De Tuynhuys from 1978**

Did this subsequent work affect the restoration undertaken prior to 1972?

Gwen and Gawie – we do not know, Dirk Visser did not consult us regarding the work we had undertaken from 1970-1972.

4.2 The Castle of Good Hoop Restoration (1969 - 1994)

- 4.2.1 **Was the client, Department of Public Works, closely associated with the Castle of Good Hoop project?**

Gwen and Gawie - Cliff Green the DPW architect on this project understood the way Gawie worked and allowed him to continue as per his vision and methods.

Gawie – yes they understood what I was doing and I **was given every assistance.**

- 4.2.1 **What was the client's brief(s) on this project and did it change in any way during the reconstruction and restoration?**

Was the initial brief merely exploratory?

Gwen and Gawie – we have worked on the Castle for thirty-two years with a total of seven contracts. The initial work was not merely exploratory, we were appointed to repair/fix the building right from the beginning. It was in a very poor state with rotten beams holding floors etc. So we were working on site and researching the historical background at the same time.

Why did construction only start in 1986?

ANSWER PROVIDED ABOVE

When did the client request the reconstruction of the various lacunae and the Dolphin pool?

NDarke – was this wing the final contract at the Castle?

- 4.2.2 **What was your approach to the conservation and the reconstruction of the lacunae at the Castle?**
?

- 4.2.3 **The NMC minutes on file dated the November 1986, reflect that the Council members did not initially support the reconstruction, what was the reason for this?**

Gwen – The issue with Loedolf and the Castle was the archaeologist

That young girl did not understand what she was doing.....

Gawie – she just kept digging down in squares even though I

told her to excavate the walls of the dolphin pool. There was a white line that she kept on excavating – it was the plaster line of the pool – by this time the old clay bricks had disintegrated and merged with the clay surrounding the pool(one could not distinguish between brick and infill). I told her to stop digging downwards and excavate sideways so as to expose the side wall of the pool (in elevation). The archaeological methods have now changed.....

The archaeologist walked off site and went to the NMC and said that the dolphin pool should not be reconstructed as it would be a "falsification"

Gwen – they always use this term "falsification"

Gawie – so we told the NMC that we had three options, either we leave the hole **and it fills with rubbish**, or we fill it in or we reconstruct the pool.

Gwen - The original steps described by Lady Ann Barnard were still thereand the walls of the pool were present.

Gwen – Simon van der Stel set out the garden in 1710. A new building – bakery was built and therefore the garden was set out.....The philosophy of the garden was based on Dutch, French, Italian and Persian origins.....a square pool with formal plantings surrounding it.

Gwen – the British just filled in the pool and tossed the railings in. We found them and unearthed them.....we made exact replicas and the originals are with Iziko

Gwen and Gawie – the walls and steps were intact and we found the **footing** of the dolphin fountain in the excavations. Lady Ann Barnard describes the dolphinwhich with further research provided information that “dauphins” were indeed fish with scales. The replicas that we had made are based on other examples.

Lady Ann Barnard’s paintings and notebooks provided very valuable information in the restoration of the Castle. Her paintings illustrated the paint colours and details, namely the Castle was ochre with blue and white details.

Gwen – we carefully removed the paint layers and found that the original **Dutch** wall colours and murals were colours based on nature – ochres, greens and floral motifs.....the subsequent colours painted over by the British were bright reds and blues – more assertive palettes.

Gwen and Gawie – Gawie visited the Earl of Balcarres (Fife, Scotland) as he has all Lady Ann Barnard’s papers. The earl permitted Gawie to photograph the documents provided he did not publish or disseminate them.

Transcript/notes of interview meeting with John Rennie

John Rennie
2 October 2012
15 New Church Street
Time: 2:30pm
Duration: approximately 1 hour and 45 minutes

Rennie was one of the first South African architects to study at the University of York under the guidance of Derek Linstrum where he completed a twelve month post graduate diploma in conservation in September 1974. This experience and the exposure to contemporary conservation theories and charters changed his views of conservation work undertaken in South Africa (John Rennie interview, 2/10/2012). Rennie was 'seconded' from Revel Fox Architects to work on Cape Town's Catalogue of Buildings from 1977-1978. He has worked on numerous conservation projects such as La Dauphine, De Tuynhuys, Kanetsvlei, The City Hall in Cape Town, old Senate House, the Old Drill Hall and the restoration of the Cathedral of St Michael and St George in Grahamstown.

3.0 Questions:

- 3.1 **when did you complete your Masters in Conservation at the University York?**
completed a twelve month "mid-career" diploma at the University of York in conservation from August 1973 to September 1974

The first intake for the course occurred 1972-1973 with about 17 students from the UK and abroad.

At the time I worked for Revel Fox & Partners Architects in Cape Town

My year (1973 intake) was a total of 4 students only, however certain of the classes were substantially larger (at times 40 or so with attendees from all around the globe) as part of an already established and much developed University of York based department – the Dip Cons course actually held at the "Institute for Advanced Architectural Studies" at the King's Manor with various facilities up and running including an established library, a photogrammetry unit already doing commissions etc.

(The course has now evolved into a Masters in Conservation (Historic Buildings)
<https://www.york.ac.uk/archaeology/postgraduate-study/taught-postgrads/masters-courses/conservation-studies/>)

The course was run by Derek Linstrum (see obituary sent separately)

Short block release courses (perhaps similar, though I doubt this) both because of the time and opportunities we had for site visits etc to the structure currently utilised by Stephen Townsend with the conservation course at UCT – historic structures, materials, conservation law charters etc visits/lectures/seminars eg Paris, London, Chester, Edinburgh, Glasgow as many historic buildings and sites in Yorkshire and beyond.

Worked for Revel Fox & Partners Architects from 1970 – 1982 (returned in October 1974 after having completed the diploma at the University of York)

- 3.2 **Did this Masters provide you with a different perspective to conservation in South Africa?**

Very much so.

- 3.3 **What is your philosophy on conservation and what projects have you completed?**

Worked on Cape Town's catalogue of buildings 1977-78 – 'seconded' from Revel Fox's office – funded by the various grants and bequests from many sources.

You should rather read the forward written by Revel in Vol 1 and by me in Vol 2 plus end page acknowledgements which list the names of those involved provide some record of what was done.

Dr J J Oberholster then director of the NMC was on the steering committee and made their facilities available during the survey work.

Conservation Projects:

Fagan architects

Worked for Gawie Fagan from 1965 – 1969(beginning of 1970)

Worked on projects such as La Dauphine (Franschhoek historic homestead) and Tuynhuys (formerly Government House) as well as other houses and commercial buildings in Gawie's hands at the time..

Mrs Donges (and her husband) had apparently indicated they would like to be housed in Government House with certain renovations to be addressed. Eben Donges has been elected President at the time but took ill and Fouche deputised for him. The project they had requested had been initiated to see Government House restored to become the official residence of the state president. Under Gawie's hands, research and initiative it developed into a more extensive project than first indicated. Unfortunately Eben Donges suffered a stroke and never recovered. He died six months later.

The balustrade coping had been uniformly levelled and adjusted to suit a hipped slate roof so the corner urns, centre pediment and figures were all missing as was the garden front balcony balustrade and its ornamentation..

Gawie was aware of the Josephus Jones drawing that had been used both by Ronald Lewcock: (Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa and by Bax and Koeman. (Het Schoonheidyou need to look up!). Various finds were made on site the most dramatic being Gawie's spotting the surviving balustraded parapet and plaster cornice remains, part altered high on the garden front and concealed by the upper balcony lean-to roof and its horizontal ceiling.

Gawie photographed the entire length of the balustrade remains and stuck the contact prints together to form a ribbon.. This photographic image was sent to Barrie Biermann (and Ronald Lewcock) after Barrie's remarking that the Jones drawing could have possibly been a proposal and never been built, ie could be fictitious or "DisneyDutch".

The restoration of the front (garden façade) was based on the Jones drawings and collective findings on site such as ghost extent on the underside of the surviving timber lintols, a surmise that the teak columns were probably the originals although portrayed more stockily by Jones. There are six columns including the end engaged ones. The façade joinery was based partly on an old 18th Century window within the building and also exhaustive comparisons with existing period works eg the Rust en Vreugd façade openings, various details at the Castle, Alphen etc.

Revel Fox architects

When working for Revel Fox and Partners, completed a number of conservation projects, namely alterations at Kanetvlei – Hex River believed to be early 19th Century (perhaps older!) farmhouse owned by the Conradie family.

The existing homestead had been substantially altered in the 1940s– with the finishing up with token front gable and modified end gables, a typical 1940's roofed and precast-columned veranda and 1940s stock windows. The original front stable door, window frames of both ground level and loft windows found variously in the loft of the house and adjacent

barn or scattered and re-used on the werf were identified . The batten-construction front door was restored and the façade windows based on details and measurements of the remnant frames and batten shutters found. The original gable was rebuilt using the heights given by the joinery together with reconstruction using an oblique façade photograph of the house when still gabled and thatched.

The project is referred to in Revel Fox's book " reflections on the making of space"

3.4 What is your opinion of Gawie Fagan, Dirk Visser and Revel Fox's work and how does it differ from your own?

Too much to answer sommer so!

3.5 When were you a member of the National Monuments Council?

John Rennie was a member of the NMC for three years only – not sure now when! They will have a record, not to be confused with my father earlier on for decades (JVL Rennie).

3.6 What was your opinion of the NMC and the work it undertook at the time?

Also not so easy to answer.

3.7 What are your thoughts on conservation prior to 1994 and post 1994 under the new NHR Act?

Ditto

One would need to sit back and take stock of much that has been done by many together with the fringe and leading societies and their individuals and influences, and then reflect on many issues, driven by period, client wishes and directives, also by whatever funds there were, available materials etc. Like us using precast and special plaster on the City Hall and old Senate House (Queen Victoria Street) to replace or to re-face deteriorating stonework.

Revel and Gawie were both in the 1960s supporters of eg Norman Eaton's work and for conservation his write up on Reinet House. Revel had "done" Meerlust, I mean the removal of (I think raised) corrugated-iron roofs, reroofing entirely in thatch incorporating a reinforced concrete 'brandsolder' attic – all in the books, floor suspending the aging beams and boards and permanent shuttering (about 1957). Revel told me they made half-moon plank formers to support the corrugated sheets off the roofs so as to form voids to reduce concrete (probably all to the engineer's detail I suspect too. Gawie followed this example at La Dauphine but the ribbed concrete was formed with fruit boxes and pvc – being a fruit farm! Eaton decries the 1927 rebuild of Groot Constantia with a concrete (brandsolder) rc attic floor with intrusive upstands spoiling the potential appreciation and possible use of this inherent generous space. Many have been done since on many homesteads tending (if the beams are sound or new) to opt moreso for a lightweight thinner brandsolder floor only, and with token mesh 'reinforcing'.

Transcript/notes of interview meeting with Basil Brink

Basil Brink

3 October 2012

3 Flower Street, Hermanus

Time: 11:00am

Duration: approximately 2 hours

(Basil Brink's **working paper** - "Framing the role that South African architects played in supporting or opposing the apartheid state" (**forthcoming**), I've been in touch with Prof Julian Cooke about publishing this working paper as a refereed article in condensed form in *Arch SA*, probably in 2013)

Refer to the book "the Super Afrikaners" by Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom

Refer also to Brink's *Restorica Bulletin* 30 dated 1974 – Afrikaner Broederbond Members of the Simon van der Stel Foundation listed.

- 3.1 In your **working paper** you refer to the conflict between modernity and preservation of culture by the Afrikaner nationalists, are you of the opinion that the restoration and declaration of Cape Dutch architecture as "National Monuments" formed part of this 'preservation'?
- "The apartheid state was a 'whites only' welfare state particularly for the advancement of Afrikaners that aimed to showcase Afrikaner modernity on the one hand, while simultaneously advancing Afrikaner "Culture" (literature, theatre, art) and "History", e.g. the Voortrekkers and Cape Dutch buildings, in opposition to English speaking South Africans' culture and history on the other."*
- 3.2 You also refer to the 'code of silence' amongst the built environment professionals which indicated an 'acquiescence or support for apartheid'. This is supported by the upheaval caused by the AAP manifesto and the argument that the profession wanted to remain apolitical. What is your opinion on this tacit approval of apartheid and its state mechanisms?
- It was a very difficult time. I attended the Transvaal Institute of Architects General assembly meeting in 1986. It was a very serious matter and whilst one could understand the declaration submitted by the AAP members one was living in an environment of "terrorist" bombings on army buildings and civilians - Wimpy restaurants were targeted and a large bomb exploded behind the old Drill Hall (an SA Army target) close to my office. In retrospect those kind of events make one think that not everything is "black or white".....there are shades of grey.*
- 3.3 The rejection of the declaration and resolution tabled by AAP by the Transvaal Provincial Institute in 1986 was a huge political set back for the profession, what is your opinion of that meeting and the outcome?
- The matter should have been discussed, it would have defused the issue and there would probably have been a diluted document agreed upon. The meeting ended so abruptly without the opportunity to discuss the issues.*
- 3.4 Your **article** discusses the AB and Sandrock in the Transvaal, was the Cape similar?
- Hannes van der Merwe was the Cape equivalent of Sandrock in the Transvaal (refer to www.artefacts.co.za "Practitioners" for information on Sandrock and van der Merwe). He was also closely connected to the Broederbond - his brother Schalk Willem was a NP Member of Parliament, Minister of Health and a member of the Broederbond ("Who's Who of Southern Africa"; Wilkins & Strydom 1978: A245).*

Hannes was instrumental in the demolition of Fletcher & Cartwrights (aka Cartwright's Corner), an important heritage building on Adderley Street. The historic humanly-scaled building was replaced with a high-rise office tower, later converted to apartments.

In letters to the press Gawie Fagan questioned why the City of Cape Town had allowed Hannes' Cape Provincial Administration Building on Wale street to exceed the height zone restriction in the town planning scheme. Hannes' practice also designed the Reserve Bank building and the massive Cape Town Civic Centre. Hannes' tower blocks changed the central city's skyline forever, much the same as Sandrock's medium-rise buildings did at UP's Hatfield campus.

Afrikaner Broederbond and the architectural profession – one must consider the notion of patronage –

Two Afrikaner architects with strong ties to the Broederbond in Cape Town were Hannes van der Merwe and CL Lochner (Lochner's son or cousin (?) (these initials are not Christie's "CL") was an AB member. (CL Lochner's name most probably appears on the pre-1962 Broederbond membership list) Lochner: T C, 30, Bayviewterras 7 Kaapstad P/A C L Lochner Argitekte Sanlamgebou, Argitek, 1976 Pretoria (Wilkins, Strydom, 1978: A66).

Hannes monopolised large state-funded buildings in Cape Town from the late 1960s and 1970s, a period that happened to coincide with his brother being a MP and Minister of Health. I haven't researched Lochner's work – I know of only one high-rise tower in CT's CBD on the corner of Strand and Burg Street, a site on which some historic building(s) most probably had to be demolished to make way for Lochner's building.

- 3.5 Franco Frescura in his conference paper "Nationalism or Nationalist, A Critique of the National Monuments Council, 1936-1989" lists twelve members of the National Monuments Council members as being members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. Is this a coincidence or an indication of a close link between the government, broederbond and NMC?
Afrikaner Broederbond was very much concerned with culture and this is reflected in the membership of the National Monuments Council, Simon van der Stel Foundation and other cultural institutions such as the AKTV(Afrikaans Taal en Kultuur Vereniging) and the FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge) which was formed by the Afrikaner Broederbond.

This is perfectly understandable as the Afrikaner elite were concerned with the preservation and promotion of Afrikaner culture and language, presumably with "noble" intentions.

If you refer to the Restorica bulletin 30, you will see listed the various Afrikaner Broederbond members of the Simon van der Stel Foundation – namely, Dr S Meiring Naude(lid nr 2033), Mr F.D Conradie(lid nr 4765), Mr JBC Roets(A92), BJ van der Walt(A115), Prof Dr WJ Richards(A91)

Transcript/notes of interview meeting with Ivan Schlapobersky

Ivan Schlapobersky
22 September 2012
5 Fricker Road, Johannesburg
Time: 11:30am
Duration: approximately 1 hour

- 3.1 Would you agree that architects in the service of the government were in effect party to the implementation of the political policies and ideologies of the apartheid state?

Yes, in so far as the enforcement of Apartheid Policies – refer to the Green Manifesto and Declaration of Architects Against Apartheid which states that:-

"We therefore resolve that it is unethical for any architect to participate in –

- Administration of Apartheid: The design and planning of any building(s) or environment commissioned by or intended to house the administration of apartheid system such as State and Local Government offices, Administration Boards, "Own Affairs", Tricameral parliaments or any variant thereof (at any level) under whatever name it may choose to operate*
- Enforcement of apartheid: The design or planning of any public building(s) or environment located in areas designated as 'homelands', 'self-governing state', or by any other name which shall from time to time be allocated to geographical reserves for a particular 'population group'*
- The design or planning of any building(s) or environment which is restricted to a particular 'racial group', or where race is a criterion for use or occupancy, or where admission is restricted on the basis of race, colour or creed.*
- The design or planning of housing and community service facilities without the participation and consent of those affected*
- Slum clearance, demolition, Urban renewal and rebuilding, where the existing community is denied its right of tenure; and/or which is planned for the purpose of, or has the consequence of removing by coercion or force the existing community in order to replace one with another; or where 'race' is a criterion in that process; or where divestment of freehold rights may occur.*
- The design and planning of any structure or environment where standards are varied according to 'racial group' "(ArchitectureSA, Jan/Feb1994:18).*

Conservation work was however a safe option, as one was just conserving and reinstating the existing artefact(s). This therefore could possibly not be construed as unethical in terms of the declaration drafted by the AAP.

- 3.2 Was the architectural profession subjected to any form of international isolation during the apartheid era?

No, the South African Institute of Architects remained a member of the UIA (International Union of Architects) until 1986.

As professionals we were free to travel overseas. Willie Meyer(1961), Francois Pienaar(1967), Floris Smith(1967), Roelof Uitenbogaardt (1961), Danie Theron(1962), Jack Diamond, Glen Gallagher, Anthony Lange and myself all completed Masters at the University of Pennsylvania under the guidance of Louis Kahn. Dennis Radford completed his Masters in conservation at Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1976 (Master of Science: in Environmental Conservation

- 3.3 Was the ISAA ever removed from the UIA, RIBA or other affiliated bodies once it became obvious that they were not complying with the declaration adopted by the UIA in 1981?

The South African Institute of Architects remained a member of the UIA (International Union of Architects) until 1986. I cannot be certain about the RIBA.....I think they withdrew accreditation of Universities early in the 1980s

4.0 Architects Against Apartheid and the Green Manifesto

- 4.1 The rejection of the declaration and resolution tabled by AAP by the Transvaal Provincial Institute in 1986 was a huge political set back for the profession, what is your opinion of that meeting and the outcome?

The Architects Against Apartheid manifesto and declaration was a huge thing for the institutea catastrophe. We were asking for a meeting to decide whether Architects' Act of 1970 and the Institute's Code of Conduct be amended according to our declaration. Therefore more than seven hundred members attended from all over the Transvaal. Van der Westhuizen was the president of the Institute at the time and he chaired the general assembly. Hans Schirmacher was barely able to speak or present the AAP declaration and Clive Chipkin to second it. Van der Westhuizen was very clever.....he permitted a motion to be tabled from the floor at the beginning of the meeting which stated that the "Architects Against Apartheid motion not be put".

In other words, that the motion not be submitted for discussion, consideration and a vote. This was put to the vote. For this reason many abstained from the vote or supported the fact that the motion should not be considered. So we lost 300 votes to about 200.....

The members of Architects Against Apartheid were:

Hans Schirmacher (emigrated to Canada shortly after the Institute meeting after being harassed by the Security Police)

Leon van Schaik (emigrated to Australia shortly after the event)

Clive Chipkin, Henry Paine, Hylton Smith, Jeff Stacey, Berry Gould, Lindsay Bremner, Tony Wilkinson, Ishwar Dayabhai, Angus Greig.

Clive Chipkin, Henry Paine, Schlapobersky and others formed an architectural drafting school at the Alexandra Arts Centre

Many of the AAP members joined the Five Freedoms Forum

- 4.2 Were there any international repercussions for the profession once the members had rejected the AAP declaration and resolution?

No, there were no real repercussions.

There were however repercussions for the AAP members.

The security police visited a number of our homes. Hans Schirmacher's house was searched. He went into hiding and emigrated shortly thereafter.

We were all harassed, even when we started the architectural drafting school in Alex at the Alexandra Arts Centre the security police visited us.

Leon van Schaik also emigrated, he was a professor of architecture in Melbourne ?

Transcript/notes of interview meeting with Jane Visser

Jane Visser

2 October 2012

17 New Church Street

Time:12:00noon

Duration: approximately 1 hour

Dirk's interest in Cape Dutch architecture was derived from the family's homestead Babylonstoren, where his mother grew up – Ouma Louw was the youngest sister of the family

David Louw lived on the farm until he died

The farm Babylonstoren symbolised the prosperity and cultural background of the family. Ouma Visser (nee Louw) always felt the loss of the farm and what it symbolised to her and the family

Therefore the three Visser siblings – Mike, Dirk and Adriaan were interested in restoration of the Cape Dutch architecture and collecting Cape Dutch furniture and collectibles

Dirk was rather an introvert and spoke at length when given the opportunity about architecture. He should never have retired as his entire life was focused on architecture and more importantly Cape Dutch architecture

Dirk bought and restored Vredeburg(in Rosebank on the banks of the Liesbeeck river) with the assistance of Len Raymond with whom he worked on many restoration projects

Dirk and his family had learnt an appreciation of what was beautiful and this is what was transferred into his conservation work. When considering the work undertaken at Valkenberg, Nova Constantia, 86 Hout Street etc, he considered the 'building as a document' and conserved/rebuilt what he perceived to be of value and beautiful

Jane developed a close relationship with Dirk through architecture (discussion, experience and knowledge) Architecture was Dirk's whole life.

He had an extensive knowledge of vernacular architecture (refer to the essay dictated to 'Connie' – refer UCT archive)

This extensive knowledge of vernacular architecture, the construction methods, the gables and details was acquired through many weekends and holidays "vernacking" with his university friends. (refer to Jane's notes – of discussion with Dirk and her tribute to him in the 2003 VASSA journal)

Dirk was also a modernist (refer to Mike Munnik and Dirk Visser's notes regarding Cape Contemporary architecture – VASSA tribute 2003) He designed many beautiful contemporary houses. One of his most prominent projects was that of the Paarl Civic Centre (a competition entry which he won in 1968). This was one of Dirk's most important projects (David Visser (son))

All his drawings for conservation projects were at a scale of 1:1 in pencil.(all details were full scale, this ensured that the contractor could work to an accurate detail) Refer to the construction semester paper by Gregg Goddard – UCT Archives Valkenburg

He would draw everything at 1:1 beautifully and then be able to describe each aspect and it's historical meaning (ND note – refer to Eaton's restoration of Reinet House in Graaff Reinet – he also worked at a scale of 1:1)

Dirk preferred to consider the building as a whole and where possible restore aspects of the building through a process of "design-by-analogy"

Refer to Dirk Visser's merit award citations, Rupert Foundations texts on Graaff Reinet – reasoning for the restoration etc

Refer to the projects that Dirk worked on namely, Agulhas Light House, Nova Constantia, Valkenburg, Vredeburg, Graaff Reinet Dostdy, Dal Josaphat(which properties –ask Len Raymond), Alphen – refer to VASSA tribute 2003, St Mary's Cathedral, Stuttards re-development(refer to Stephen Townsend's PhD and possibly Newlands House)

